

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXVII.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE GREEKS IN INDIA.*

IN the earlier years of British administration it was, by no means, generally thought that any previous European Government had existed in Hindustan. But before the middle of the nineteenth century, attention began to be attracted to certain inscribed pillars, at Allahabad, Delhi, and other seats of ancient state; and these were decyphered with marked success by a local antiquary, Mr. James Prinsep, whose posthumous essays were edited by the late Edward Thomas in 1858. From these it appeared that, shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, there had been a ruler in Northern India who was in friendly relations with certain Macedonian Kings. Not long after came Captain Cunningham—known to later days as Sir Alexander, who laid bare a series of coins, statues, and architectural fragments indicating the influence of Greek art and thought in the vast region extending from the Indus to the Jumna. Since then Colonel Biddulph's *Report* on the tribes of the Hindu Kush has brought to light the existence in those hills of mountaineers as fair as Europeans, drinking wine, using chairs, and talking a variety of dialects even now betraying traces of Greek idiom: some further information as to these people was about the same time collected by the late Dr. Leitner.† Their peculiarities of appearance and customs do not, of course, prove that the Dards are descended from Greeks, but they help to support the theory, which is further corroborated by the later writings of Mr. Vincent Smith, I.C.S.‡ This able observer shows that Greek influence prevailed on the banks of the Indus for about two centuries before the Christian era. And he is even inclined to attribute to legends of Apollo at Delos much of the mythology attaching to the founder of Buddhism.

* *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce.* Comte Goblet d'Alvièra, Paris, 1897.

† *The Languages and Races of Dardistan.* 4to. Lahore, 1877.

‡ *Graeco-Roman influence on the Civilization of Ancient India.* [Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 58-61.]

Under the inspiration of such a change of view, other scholars have been taking up the question of Indian culture, and endeavouring to show that long before the modern disturbance of her exclusive tranquility, the great peninsula had undergone European influences which had, in fact, an immense part in creating standards of taste and canons of science. Fifty years ago the indefatigable Lassen had, in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, made a collection of the principal classic texts bearing upon the subject. Following Lassen, the erudite A. Weber ransacked Hindu literature for traces of Greek inspiration. In 1890 a French Professor, M. Sylvain Lévi, brought out the passages in Indian documents in a little Latin treatise;—*Quid de Græcis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*: and in the same year M. Emile Sénart, of the Institute, in his *Notes d'épigraphie indienne*, criticised, from a similar stand-point, the older Sanskrit inscriptions. Nor have Anglo-Indians been idle. Sir A. Cunningham, who ultimately became archaeological surveyor to the Indian Government, laboured, in his generation, to supplement the work of Sir E. C. Bayley and the late E. Thomas, in the way of cataloguing the earlier coins, in which labour of love he has been himself followed by Percy Gardner and V. Smith already mentioned.

It was thus, with no defective material, that Count Goblet d'Alviella recently undertook to construct his memorial, "Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce;" availing ourselves of which we hope to lay before the British reader as complete a sketch of the action of the Greeks in this behalf as he will be disposed to consider or accept. Indian topics are not universally popular; and—with a few striking exceptions—their exponents have not done much to take away the reproach. But the versatile Professor of the Brussels University was fortunate in the choice of an unfamiliar and piquant aspect of India, and has given us an able summary of the facts, with all the lucid order of a French writer and with more sobriety and attention to fact than French writers always display. By walking in his footsteps one may obtain a glimpse of things not wholly devoid of interest, even for those who usually find India a bore.

Mr. Goblet has to start with an admission which will hardly be deemed prepossessing by scholars. The conclusions to which he has been led are to some extent, and owing to inevitable difficulties, unhappily provisional. Having allowed so much, he will not quarrel with us if we sometimes venture to point out certain still-existing doubts and limitations.

Among the incontestable facts one has no hesitation in accepting are these: From the time of the invasion of Alexander—who, in 326 B. C., planted colonies and founded cities in the Punjab—the Greek language was known and used in that part

THE GREEKS IN INDIA.

of India, as well as in what is now known as Turkistan. After the death of the great Macedonian the valley of the Upper Oxus was made into the Province of Bactria, attached to the Seleukid kingdom of Syria : becoming a distinct realm under Diodotus about 256 B. C. This separation of the satrapy was synchronous with an extension of the Buddhist Empire of Palibothra, under Asoka, who adopted the Bactrian Alphabet, and employed it in one of his famous edicts in the extreme N. W. This may indicate that the Macedonian colonies in India were not very strong or influential in the days of Asoka ; but that Emperor was himself partly Greek by birth, his grandmother being the daughter of Selenkos. In any case, whatever decline the colonies may have experienced under Asoka, was amply retrieved in the succeeding century, when the successes of the Parthians completely separated the Bactrian Greeks from their base in Syria and turned their faces towards the South of the Hindu Kush passes. Under this pressure Demetrius—the then Basileus—appears to have settled in what is now called “ the Sind-Sāgar Duāb—where he issued bilingual coins, and stamped them with his own haughty Greek countenance, surmounted by a helmet made out of, or in the likeness of an elephant’s head. About 175 B. C. Demetrius—known in ancient Indian books as Dattamitra—was replaced by a military adventurer named Eucratides, as related by Justin, the historian of the Macedonians. Eucratides, in his turn, was succeeded—and probably killed—by Heliocles (155—120 B.C.) in whose time the dynasty was finally expelled from Bactria, and forced to reside entirely upon Indian territory, by the overwhelming incursions of a Scythian tribe which has been identified with the Jats : the Parthians even became tributary to these enterprising barbarians who, for the moment, probably preferred not to entangle themselves in the southward passes.

The first purely Indo-Greek King was, apparently, Apollodotus, celebrated in the *Mahabharat* under the slightly disguised form of Bhagadatta : he is there said to have been “ King of the Yavanas ” (or Ionians) whose superiority in fighting power is candidly allowed : this Grecian ruler is represented in the epic as the ally of Arjuna in the battle of Kurukhet, near the modern Panipat, so often the scene of Indian battles.

The successor of Apollodotus is believed to have been Menander (*fl. Circ.* 110 B. C.) in whose time the Indo-Greek power in the Punjab attained its brief meridian. Strabo (*Circ.* 20 A. D.) assures us that Menander passed the Sutlej, reaching an eastern river supposed to have been the Jumna ; and M. Goblet thinks that it was under him that Sravasthi and Patna were temporarily conquered by the Indo-Greeks. The coins of Menander have been found, in any case, as widely diffused as

from Cabul to Muttra ; but the eastern incursions of the "Yavanas," may possibly be taken as those of the Scythian successors of the Greeks ; for a time came, when the word "Ionian" was applied to any foreigner. The Scythians, were certainly not long after the Greeks in crossing the Hindu Kush, and there is reason to think that they were partially Hellenised either by their stay in Bactria or after their coming into the Punjab. For a time they even ruled side by side with the Greek remnant ; and when that became gradually absorbed, the Scythians—an Aryan people—long continued to use the Greek character upon their coins, perhaps, only showing that the monetary art had become hereditary in the Eurasian descendants of the original Macedonian mint masters. About 25 B.C. Hermaios, an Indo-Greek, shared his power with the Scythian Chief, Wema Kadphises ; but the latter became sole ruler when Hermaios died.

Of the dynasty which thus became extinct, we are left to infer that it retained, while it lasted, a degraded but real penumbra of Hellenic culture. No temple of Zeus has arisen out of the dust of ages to convey to us latter-day enquirers any information as to religious institutions ; and, what is no less remarkable, no explorer has discovered one single line of inscription, either as memorial or mortuary epitaph. As it is notorious how fond the European Greeks were of this kind of literature, its entire absence appears to argue a complete lack of culture. It is true that Philostratus (*fl. Circ. 200 A. D.*) represents his hero Apollonius of Tyana, as conversing in Greek with the princes of India ; but the book is a romance in which it is not thought possible to point out the items of truth—if indeed such there be. Moreover, it was not composed until the time of the Emperor Severus, when a new intercourse with India had begun. Strabo reports of a letter to Augustus in Greek ; from a successor of Porus ; and the coins and other monuments of the period are ample proof that some European culture lingered, however faint ; but the colony had, doubtless, rapidly degenerated since the days of Seleukos ; as indeed everything European does in India.

It appears here desirable to clear up a point which M. Goblet has left in some obscurity. After the Bactrian Greeks had settled in India they had two principal centres ; one at Taxila—now Deri Shahān near Rāwal Pindi ; the other at Enthydemia, usually identified with Sāngala in the District of Jhang. It is in one or other of these places that all the purely Greek remains have been found, with the exception of one or two pieces of sculpture. The so-called Gandhāra objects—the Corinthian columns and the Buddhist images found in the Yusafsai country—are all Roman or Byzantine, belonging to a later period.

and a different series altogether. It was the fate of the Bactrian Greeks to die out by slow degrees; as a degenerate race, absorbed by their Indian surroundings: somewhat as would have happened to the adventurer George Thomas, had he succeeded in founding a dynasty of Eurasians in Hurriāna. A couple of centuries later a Scythian kingdom arose S. E. and E. of Cabul, into which Roman travellers made their way up the Indus, having landed at Barygaza (the modern Barōche). But it is worse than idle to consider them or their influence when examining the action of Hellenic culture upon India; neither the time, the place, nor the men themselves can be fairly brought within our immediate purview.

We return, therefore, to the Greek Colony driven from Bactria and settled in the Sind-Sagar Duab, between the Indus and the Jehlam. Their superiority in war, and their skill in art and science, were at one time sufficiently obvious to be recognised in popular poetry, and this period may be safely assumed to have been the last century preceding the Christian era. It even seems that they were held to be a kind of *Kshattria*, the class peculiarly regarded as hereditary nobles and warriors. They encouraged sculpture and architecture, affected taste on coins and medals, and possessed some, at least, of the more popular Greek books—especially the *Iliad*. In their early days they worshipped Zeus and Heracles, and one of the best and oldest statues—found, it is true, west of the Indus—was certainly intended for Pallas Athene. The culmination of this brief period was—we have seen—the reign of Menander. Of this king three coins from Mr. Gardner are engraved in M. Goblet's book, and each bears strong signs of likeness: the forehead being in each case high, the nose prominent, and the mouth and chin of refined boldness, on each we clearly read the Greek words ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΩΤΗΡΟΣ, while the reverse contains the Sanskrit translation.

M. Goblet derives his conception of the life and times of Menander from a sort of Platonic dialogue translated by Mr. Rhys Davids, and included in vols. 35, 36 of the *Sacred books of the East*, edited by Prof. Max Müller. But the picture there presented is probably no more than a brilliant mirage of the old writer's mind; and the chief interest of the drama, or historical fiction, that he has given us arises from the mental habits ascribed to the Indo-Greek King and the steps by which he was led to become a convert to Buddhism. The city of Enthydemia—described under the name of Sagala—may have been better constructed and better kept up than the clay-built towns and villages of which we are told by Arrian; but M. Goblet is probably right in referring for comparison to the *Arabian Nights*: this is the ideal offered:—"The streets

resounded with words of welcome addressed to the apostles of all creeds, and the teachers of every sect found an asylum there. . . . All the jewels heart could desire abounded ; and the dealers in objects of luxury displayed their wares in bazaars extending to every quarter of the horizon. So full was the city of coins, and of objects of value in gold, silver and precious stones, that it seemed a very mine of dazzling wealth." In this brilliant scene we are to 'suppose the half-caste king, "instructed, eloquent and wise ; a faithful and intelligent follower of his own religion." A master of all the sciences, he was an invincible dialectician, manifestly superior to the professional teachers and sophists. In personal qualities he was equally conspicuous, as much in bodily vigour as in wisdom ; and his army consisted of countless brave soldiers. After reviewing his troops he was wont to devote the remainder of the day to conversation and discussion with the men of various schools of thought, whose presence in his capital has been already noticed. Like his great successor Akbar, he collected these sages around him, and bade each in turn expose and defend the several doctrines professed by each.

Nor was this the result of mere *dilettante* curiosity : Menander is presented to posterity as a sincere enquirer. "Venerable lord !" said a Buddhist doctor, to him, on one of the occasions under reference, "do you desire to argue as a scholar or as a king ?" "What may be the difference ?" asked His Majesty. "The difference" replied the sage, "is this : when scholars argue there is no violence, and the one who is convicted of error has to acknowledge his conviction. When the King disputes, on the other hand, those who disagree with him are liable to be punished by his people." "In that case," announced Menander, "let us be scholars : Your Reverence is free to cast aside all reserve, as if discussing with a colleague, a disciple, a slave."

This courteous monarch had often talked over matters of religion with the Brahmins who attended his Court ; but these he had easily vanquished without the necessity of having recourse to regal argumentation. Weary of these facile triumphs, he had experienced the satiety of success. "Is there no one then ?" he asked in his despair, "no philosopher or priest, who can set my doubts at rest ? The land is void, it seems, of all but talk." Such was the mood in which Menander met the man who was to guide his feet into the way of peace : the Buddhist teacher, Nagasena by name, expounded the new doctrine, and prevailed over the scepticism of the earnest monarch, in virtue (so the Buddhist author is careful to assure us) of a long series of deserts acquired in former stages of existence : the King professed himself convince and embraced the creed of his antagonist.

What was the ultimate fate of Menander is not quite clear : though the story of his conversion is by no means improbable. Perhaps his family and followers were offended at his giving up the failing faith in Zeus and Pallas, and forced him to abdicate and retire to a monastery. Perhaps Plutarch was well-informed when he recorded that he died in camp, and that his ashes, after cremation, were distributed among the various cities of his vast dominion. In any case the dynasty did not long survive him, becoming extinct before the commencement of the Christian era. M. Goblet calls his reign the union of two conflicting civilisations, at the apogee of their development ; but that is perhaps too strong. Hindu civilisation—even in the ancient form—was not fully developed at so early a period ; and the sons and grandsons of the Bactrian Greeks could never have had more than the manners and customs of military hybrids. Nevertheless, the picture of semi European soldiers, endeavouring to found a kingdom in the Far East, is not devoid of a certain charm for those who are sensible of the similar antagonism.

If we leave these romantic scenes and address our minds to the practical results of that primitive contact of West and East, we shall find something, though perhaps not very much to reward us. The architectural influences of which, following in the steps of the late Jas. Fergusson, M. Goblet has so much to say, are in a manner ruled out of Court by the twofold consideration that they did not originate with Greeks and did not extend into India. Neither India nor Greece in those days used the arch ; and the traces of arched buildings in the Yusafzai highlands must have come either from Rome, Byzantium, or Persia. When we note the extremely floriated capitals of the columns out of which these arches spring without any entablature, the Roman (or Byzantine) alternative is almost forced upon us, in spite of the obvious difficulty of accounting for the presence of Romans in that remote nook. But, as we know that after the Christian era intercourse by sea began, by which Alexandria in Egypt was brought into regular communication with Barygaza (modern Baroche or Broach) it seems possible that Roman adventurers may have found their way, by Gujarat and Sindh, to the Indus : this route of course landing them in the neighbourhood of Pushpapura (or Peshawar) without their having occasion to enter the Punjab Proper. This immigration, though clearly distinguishable from the earlier settlement from Bactria, has an interest of its own as being that which probably introduced into Indian religion and mythology those Christian elements which have been the cause of so much discussion. But that was not one of the direct results of Grecian influence, which was con-

finer almost entirely to æsthetic matters, such as medal-casting, architecture, statuary, and some forms of literary art.

In this last ascription there is great danger of running counter to deep prepossessions. The drama of which Kalidasa is the representative has been highly extolled not only by natives but by Goethe and other famous Europeans: while the Great Indian epics have come to be venerated almost more as Scripture than as mere literature. But equally great works in both kinds have had to suffer analysis. The worshippers of Shakspeare have been compelled to admit that their idol was not always original in his plots: orthodox believers have learned, without offence, that parts of the Bible are founded on Assyrian legends*: and admirers of Indian poetry must submit to be told that motives and incidents in their favourite works may have been inspired by the myths of Orpheus and Alcestis, the abduction of Helen and the Trojan War. A like indebtedness is found in science; while art shows Poseidon on a medal passing into an effigy of Shiva, and the carrying away of the serpent-queen by the bird of Vishnu modelled on the rape of Ganymede.

We must conclude by acknowledging that this obscure episode of history has not been adequately lighted up at present; and with hoping that further discoveries may give fuller information. Meanwhile, coins and medals dating from about 150 B. C. give irrefragable evidence of the existence of a Hellenic colony in the Punjab, while later remains attest the presence of European elements of culture in regions beyond the frontier. At no time was the culture high, and the later elements were probably of a merely imitative character. Absorbed and assimilated by Oriental surroundings, the Greek colony relapsed into the general ideas and habits of the indigenous community, much as the descendants of the present British denizens would do if the sea-power were taken from our country and India were once more left to her native princes. Some traces of British influence would linger for a time; and then "the brooding East" would resume her secular repose.

There was once a general consensus, on the part of all who took any interest in the subject, that Europe was debtor to Asia for all its higher culture. Great diminution must result to this belief from the discoveries so skilfully summarised for us by M. Goblet. In place of the old device "*Ex Oriente Lux*," the Royal Asiatic Society may end by adopting Virgil's alternative:—

"*Aut redit : nobis Aurora, diemque reducit.*" It almost amounts to a reversal of former doctrines. Asia proves to be

* [This is misreading both the Assyrian legends, and the sources of Mosaic records.—ED., C.R.]

little more than a passive recipient; a soil lying inert until the wandering West digs it and implants new germs. After times find these either withered or run wild; and the jungle is once more lost to human uses until cleared anew and subjected to fresh seed and cultivation. It is painful to part with any long-cherished error; yet the plainest truth will be found more useful than the most picturesque delusion.

Count Goblet has, in this charming little work, adopted a quite undogmatic attitude; contenting himself with placing before his readers the result of modern research. Accepting the theory of an Aryan race with a primitive Diaspora, presumably from an Asiatic centre, he makes short work of supposed mythologic connections or obligations of Pythagoras and Plato. He does not believe in influences from Persia or India, affecting the ancient culture of Europe *before* the time of Alexander the Great; and *after* that time the influence was all in the opposite direction. The picture that he draws of the Greek stations in the further Punjab is imaginative but not without elements of fact; and he shows how—even after the communication between the colonists and the mother country had closed—Northern India continued for sometime to use the language and culture that the Greeks had left.

H. G. KEENE, L.L.D.

ART. II.—EUROPEAN AND HINDU SYSTEMS OF MUSIC.

(COMPARISON AND CONTRAST.)

THERE is not a single nation on the face of the earth, whether civilized or uncivilized, which is not in some degree susceptible to the influence of music. With the march of civilization, music, like its sister arts, has passed through various phases of development. The European music of the modern day is supposed to have attained its highest development, while the music of many Oriental nations is believed by foreign critics even as yet not to have progressed beyond a rudimentary stage. An appreciation of music like other things, truly follows the law of relativity. What is considered to be good music in one country is regarded as something akin to noise in another country. The highest forms of polyodic music are not relished, if not actually hated, by many whom simple melodies have pleased for a long time. Most fascinating melodies of the Hindu music fall flat on the highly-trained ears of the European. Such relativity of tastes is quite within human experience. There can therefore be no absolute standard by which music of different nations can be tested, "sounds sweet in themselves and sweet in their combinations, which yield to unfatigued ears intense pleasure, become at the end of a long concert not only wearisome, but, if there is no escape from them, causes of irritation," while such is the case with one and the same individual, how much more varied should be the tastes of nations born and bred in entirely different climes and under entirely different influences? It is therefore absolutely necessary that considerable discretion should be exercised in judging of the relative merits of any two systems of music.

It may not be considered to be a serious digression here to refer to a few reasons for the dislike of Europeans generally for Hindu music. In the first place, ignorance and want of opportunity are a few stumbling-stones in the way of a due appreciation of our music. Hindu music is imbedded in the almost impenetrable rock of abstruse Sanscrit which baffles all attempts to study it from original sources, and want of opportunity is an important cause for the prevailing ignorance as to the very existence of classical music among the Hindus. Street music is what generally Europeans in some of their hurried tours have come across, and these have no hesitation in concluding that it is the prevailing form of music of the

land. No more foolish generalization can be made. It is as fallacious as to conclude, from an acquaintance with one or two Frenchmen, Italians, or Russians, the characters of the entire nation. In many cases, the greater the ignorance, the greater is the presumptuous character of opinions expressed. On the other hand, many a European who has had the patience to study the Indian Literature has formed a more accurate estimate of the science and art of Hindu music. Another circumstance which blinds one to an intelligent appreciation of the materials at his disposal is prejudice by which he is easily led astray. "One's interests, fears, antipathies, likings, poetic ideals and religious sentiments" are a few circumstances which predispose even a fair-minded person to error. A man's ignorance may be excusable, but his utterances and opinions, based on preconceived notions, are entirely untrustworthy and must be received with caution. "A blind guide is certainly a great mischief; but a guide that blinds those whom he should lead is undoubtedly a much greater." Prof. Max Muller has truly observed: "We must not neglect to make full allowance for that very important intellectual parallax which renders it most difficult for a western observer to see things and thoughts under exactly the same angle and in the same light as they would appear to an eastern eye. A symphony of Beethoven's would be mere noise to an Indian ear, and Indian Sangita seems to us without melody, harmony, or rhythm."

The author of "An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer" says "We are born but with narrow capacities: our minds are not able to master two sets of manners, or comprehend with facility different ways of life. Our company, education, and circumstances make deep impressions, and form us into a character, of which we can hardly divest ourselves afterwards. The manners, not only of the age and nation in which we live, but of our city and family stick closely to us, and betray us at every turn when we try to dissemble, and would pass for foreigners. In a similar manner, unless we are perfectly well-acquainted with the manners and customs, and mode of life prevalent amongst a nation, and at the very juncture of time which the poet describes, it is not possible to feel the effect intended to be conveyed." How truly are these remarks applicable to such of the foreign critics as are determined to under-estimate the worth of the Hindu music without entering into its spirit and investigating the causes underlying its growth. A fair and unprejudiced enquiry would disclose beauties which are not recognised for want of leisurely research. Captain Willard, after remarking that foreign music would always be repugnant to the European

taste till habit reconciles itself to it, asserts with much force that "if a native of India were to visit Europe, and who, having never had opportunities of hearing music in its utmost perfection—who had never witnessed an opera, or a concert, directed by an able musician, but had merely heard blind beggars, and itinerant scrapers, such as frequent inns and taverns—were to assert that the music of Europe was execrable, it would perhaps never have occurred to his hearer that he had heard only such music as he would himself designate by the same title, and the poor traveller's want of taste would perhaps be the first and uppermost idea that would present itself." Helmholtz, remarking on a standard of musical judgment, writes: "The feeling for historical artistic conception has certainly made little progress as yet among our musicians even among those who are at the same time musical historians. They judge old music by the rules of modern harmony, and are inclined to consider every deviation from it as mere unskilfulness in the old composer, or even as barbarous want of taste."

Perhaps no nation has emphasized the importance of music to the same extent as the early Aryans of India. To them it was as indispensable as any of the necessities of life itself. The birth of a child is announced by music. The various ceremonies attending a youngster's schooling are heralded by music of some kind or another. A Hindu marriage is a continuous feast of music and the last, though not the least, one's final exit from this world is marked by that quaint but solemn music which combined with words of true philosophical import, makes one for the time being callous to all mundane affairs and makes grief itself sufferable. No festivities in India are celebrated without music and universality of its use for religious purposes is an acknowledged fact. The music that is referred to here does not on all these occasions necessarily partake of the character of any of its higher or classical forms; but the national custom strictly enjoins the necessity of some form of musical accompaniment, on such occasions which is certainly not felt to be obligatory in other nations, with whom it is more a matter of social convenience than one of religious obligation, the non-performance of which implies social odium.

No musical historian can ignore the value of the early Vedic hymns as an invaluable help in fixing a landmark in the progress of the musical science in general. No nation on the face of the earth has developed its musical talent in the infancy of its existence to the same great extent that the early Hindus have done and the Vedic hymnal chants have never been surpassed, if ever equalled, for their tonal beauty.* As a

* [Our very able writer on Hindu Music in making this assertion is not aware of the truly *Divine* melody and "tonal beauty" of the Hebrew

matter of course, they are not intended here to be compared with any of the modern advanced musical compositions of harmony and fugue or even the splendid strains of melodic succession. But none can fail to observe the inherent beauty of the distinctive cadences of these primeval songs whose solemn and majestic character can be realized only by listening to them as they are sung by a group of trained reciters.

Although careful research has established beyond doubt the antiquity of Hindu music, still critics are not wanting who would ascribe its sources to foreign and more especially to Greek influences. This tendency to refer every origin to Greek sources is as much to be deprecated as that on the part of another class of critics who would derive everything Grecian from Indian source. Much discretion has to be exercised in judging of original sources, and one country is not to be sacrificed for "a paltry prize which is hardly worth the cost." Meagre study and circumscribed vision are two dangerous factors in a critical valuation of an intricate subject. A comprehensive and impassioned consideration would facilitate the balancing of judgment on that side on which the best arguments have been advanced with the view of sifting truth from falsehood. The existence of musical modes among the Greeks which correspond to a few of the Hindu modes or ragas has been the cause of a considerable speculation that in this case the Hindu was the borrower. The holders of this view are, it is needless to say, in hopeless ignorance of the very elements of Hindu music, whose foundations are as old as the Himalayas themselves. This is a fond idea of those that had no opportunity to hear the classical music of the land. Even European savants who devoted their life-time to a sympathetic study of the Indian Literature and Arts, were diffident enough to express that "it is hardly fair that an art so little really understood even among the natives of India themselves should be judged by such a criterion and then put aside as worthless because solitary individuals have been deceived by parties of outcast charlatans whose object is mere gain."

Hindus might be indebted to the Greeks for astronomical or other kinds of knowledge, but no student of musical history can be easily persuaded to place his faith in a Greek origin of Hindu music. Though historically the division into seventy-two modes is of much later date, yet it seems to be sufficiently anterior to a period when the Greeks might be supposed to have influenced them. Hindu music is peculiar

¹ Psalms. We are sure he would find it even worth his while to study Hebrew for this purpose; and, indeed, alter his opinion in regard even to the (merely) sonorous and rhythmic Sanscrit Vedic Hymns.—Ed., C. R.]

to the soil of its birth. Its distinguishing features are destructive to a faith in an influence. The modes of their employment are sufficiently distinctive in character to leave any the slightest doubt as to their foreign origin. The comparative paucity of the Greek modes points to sterility of the Greek genius*. A superficial knowledge of a few of the Hindu modes may, by their apparent resemblance, tend to create a doubt, but a sufficiently penetrating research would disabuse a reasonable mind of all hesitation as to their real origin which are of such great variety and structural beauty as to possess a unique character of their own. A musical dilettante who adheres to the former view may be supposed to argue in this way "why, this is exactly what the Ancient Greeks called Authentic Modes; (from *Authenticos*, the rule) (*i.e.*) scales which exercised a superior power over other subsidiary scales, which were called *Plagal*; and I lay a wager that your distinction between *melas* and *ragas* will, on analysis, be found to be absolutely identical with this ancient idea of Authentic and *Plagal* modes, even if you can prove that it was not directly derived therefrom." To this it has been answered that "the distinction between Authentic and *Plagal* modes was really no distinction at all, the main difference lying in the compass or range of notes between the starting point and the Final. Three of the topmost notes in the Authentic modes were transposed below the tonic, so that the melodies in the *Plagal* modes commenced from the Dominant while the Authentic had their sounds comprised within an octave from the Final. This was the silliest of possible distinctions and has wisely been discarded in modern European music." The following extract from Haumann's History of Music will, on the other hand, shew the nature of Asiatic influence on the Greek music: "This insertion of quarter-tones may have been the result of Hellenic connection with the Orientals, who, as we already know, loved to glide from note to note by the smallest possible interval. It is, however, just possible that the Hellenes copied the procedure from their Asiatic neighbours, a practice which would greatly harmonize with the Hellenic theory of dividing tones into infinitesimal portions."

The European system of music recognises only two important modes, namely, the major and the minor, suited to purposes of harmony, whereas the Hindu system recognised seventy-two modes. The major and the minor are only two of the several modes falling under the Hindu classification of

* [As well argue about the "sterility of Greek genius" (!) from the Greek alphabet being fewer.—ED., C. R.]

modes. The comprehensive character of the Hindu musical system, may, not unjustifiably, give rise to the impression that the early Greeks might have interpolated their modes from the Hindus, and therefore have been the early borrowers. It is at the same time not inconsistent with reason to admit that they might have had an independent origin. But it is certainly puerile, if not absurd, to refer the Hindu modes to a Greek origin, as the early elaboration of Melakartos and Janaya Ragas gives sufficient indication of their independent origin, and no musical virtuoso can be unmindful of the immense variety of effects resulting from the many combinations of notes in the same scale, which was not the purpose for which they were employed by the Greeks.* Modern church music is still said to employ some of the Ancient Greek and ecclesiastical modes, which only proves their importance. Many of the Hindu modes are of such great beauty that their existence cannot be ignored in a proper appreciation of scales in general. It has been observed that "the wide divergence of taste in the matter of music between European and Asiatic nations has doubtless arisen from the fact that while Western nations gradually discarded the employment of mode, and clothed the melody with harmony, the Eastern nations in this respect made little or no progress, and now in India, the employment of authentic modes and melody-types (or ragas) is still jealously adhered to." Pure and simple melody is the basis of the Hindu, and for the matter of that, all Oriental music, whereas harmony which is "the practice of combining sounds of different pitch," is believed to be the exclusive music of the European nations. Helmholtz remarks "the essential basis of music is melody. Harmony has become to Western Europeans during the last three centuries an essential and, to our present taste, indispensable means of strengthening melodic relations, but finely developed music existed for thousands of years, and still exists in ultra-European nations without any harmony at all." Harmony is a plant whose native soil is Europe. It is curious that it has not succeeded in taking root in other soils where it has been transplanted and where it has proved exotic.

Melody plays the most important part in musical composition. Although it has gone through different phases, it will always continue to be the "soul of all music." The distinction between melody and harmony has been clearly explained in the following: "In simple phrase Melody is a well-ordered series of tones heard successively; Harmony, a well-ordered series heard simultaneously; Rhythm, a symmetrical grouping

*[The elaboration and perfection of the Hindu 72 modes, just as of the Hindu Alphabet, proves just the other way.—ED. C. R.]

of tonal tune-units vitalized by accent. The life-blood of music is melody and a complete conception of the term embodies within itself the essence of both its companions. * * * Melody is Harmony analyzed; Harmony is melody synthetized." It may be of much interest and instruction to study the several stages (and in this connexion the circumstances also that led to them) which melody passed through before harmony was recognised to be an important factor in the musical system of Europe; why, of all nations in the world, the Europeans should have become tired of melodic compositions; and why a form of music which still continues to give unbounded pleasure to *thousands* of individuals should have become an anachronism or simply appear in an unbecoming disguise, whereas even now its "more cultivated European sister should continue to please only *hundreds*." The musical antiquarian has a wide field before him for a critical investigation into the times when melody by itself presented a bare appearance and had to be clothed with harmony to justify its further existence, and at the same time for an estimate of the mental attitude of the oriental nations with whom melody has always constituted one of the many simple luxuries which gratified them beyond description.

The growth of melody through successive stages into modern harmony may be an interesting subject for consideration, but want of space forbids us from pursuing the subject at any great length. The ears of a modern European trained in the grandeur of harmony have an aversion for the barbarous music of the East whose melody is regarded as uncouth and rhythm, vague; though one is constrained to admit that harmony which is the *sine qua non* of modern civilized music is to Orientals, an unmitigated noise, meaningless and confused.

The discovery of the leading note is regarded by European musicians as the greatest triumph of the modern art; whereas from a melodic point of view, its use has always been considered by Oriental musicians as "effeminate, ear-splitting and heart-breaking." The use of accidentals which forms an important factor in the harmonising of chords is condemned by the Hindu musicians as exotic, and, in some cases, as outrageous intrusions. Modulation which is the change of tonic is to the Hindu a "deliberate breaking of regularity and destruction of symmetry." Some of the melodic successions of notes interspersed in elaborate pieces of harmonic music are highly charming, but the whole has not the same effect on the Hindu as it has on his more cultivated brother. Such a fundamental difference in appreciation must be attributed to something more than a mere want

of opportunity to acquaint oneself with different kinds of music. A greater patience, however, on the part of the European exercised in hearing our music would reveal to him the beauties of Hindu melodies which he fails to appreciate, being fully tinctured with prejudice. The Hindu, on the other hand, from a constant hearing of European bands, is in a better position to estimate the beauties of harmony, although frequent modulations and constant use of accidentals are repugnant to his ear. A musical critic writes : " But to many persons the noisy confusion of certain modern compositions for orchestras and voices is delightful ; voices yelling and growling, and, in the orchestra, all sorts of heterogeneous instruments mingled together to make a chaos of deafening noises. When we find in a celebrated German orchestra, musical effects attempted to be produced by cracking of whips, firing of pistols, jingling of post-horse bells, ringing of bells of all sorts and sizes, thrumming on the Russian balalaika, beating of drums and so on, and all received with rapture by a civilized European audience, we may well be justified in saying that it is hard to tell what the human ear may or may not be trained to relish in music or rather in noise."

Many a European musical savant has recognized the importance of subordinating harmony to melody. The critic quoted above thinks that " the study of melody is by far too much neglected. Harmony has generally in these days usurped its place ; and we find ten good harmonists according to rule for one good melodist. The reason is that a man without real musical genius may become a very good scholastic harmonist, while a great melodist must be a man of great genius. Handel was in his day one of the most remarkable musicians for general excellence in both melody and harmony ; but he was a man of the highest musical genius, and his profound skill in all the harmony of his time could never altogether check the flow from the spring of melody which existed in his mind.

* * * In the proper order of musical study, melody ought to precede harmony." Beethoven is said to have been placed under a master destitute of genius for melody but a profound harmonist and a learned writer of fugues and canons, etc. The result was that these lessons and rules served him as a ' telescope ' to enable him to perceive a wide field of composition far beyond them all. In short he was a man of first rate musical genius, and therefore by nature a great melodist and fortunately for the world, his injudicious training could not extinguish his passionate feeling for melody and his charming expression of it in his best works." The strict jealousy with which his introduction of new modes into modern harmonies was viewed was sufficient to discourage even Beetho-

even who, on his death-bed, said that his new quartette would "please some day." Carl Engel points out that "a fine melody is more important than the finest harmony." Rousseau declared harmony to be "a barbarous invention which we never would have contemplated if we had been more sensible of the true beauties of art and of music truly natural." Exaggerated though this may appear to be, still it may not be entirely devoid of truth. Melody is by musicians often called the soul of music; nevertheless it is lamentably neglected by many of our composers for the sake of harmony; and some skilful contrivance in the latter—the result of labour merely mental—is made to supply the want of expressive melody, the creation of which requires genius as well as talent, and is therefore beyond the power of many professional musicians. A really fine melody is expressive without harmony." Such is the opinion of one on the relative merits of melody and harmony who has not confined himself to the narrow groove of one form of music, but has impassionately and critically studied the melodies of various nations which have pretended to any kind of musical taste.

G. B. Doni, the Florentine musical amateur and antiquary, observes that "true melody is perfect and finished and as it were completely coloured." Captain Willard thinks that "there is no doubt that harmony is a refinement on melody; but much modern music, divested of the harmony which accompanies it, presents to us its blank nudity and want of that beauty which warranted the expression "and most adorned when unadorned the least." Although I may be very fond of harmony and it cannot but be acknowledged that it is a very sublime stretch of the human mind, the reasoning on harmony will perhaps convince the reader that harmony is more conducive to cover the nakedness, than shew the fertility of genius. Indeed, perhaps, all the most beautiful successions of tones which constitute agreeable melody are exhausted, and this is the reason of the pooriness of our modern melody; and the abundant use of harmony which however in a good measure compensates by its novelty. At the same time we are constrained to allow that harmony is nothing but art, which can never charm equally with nature." Very frequently harmony contains little or no melody, properly so-called. It must be kept in view that harmony has its own peculiar means of producing effects, independent of melody, or at least of any prominent melody. It is more vague in its effects than melody, and being more complicated is less generally relished and understood than the latter. A chorus of Handel or a symphony of Beethoven requires a trained ear to relish and understand it fully. Haydn was a great advocate for melody. He used

to say "every composition that has a fine melody is sure to please," and experience proves the truth of the assertion. He was of opinion that "the most recherché and learned harmony without melody was only an elaborate noise, which, if it did not please the ear, excited neither the feelings nor the imagination." M. Rousseau and some other critics are believed to have expressed that music is not really improved by the use of harmony. The former produces various arguments to prove that "it is a barbarous and Gothic invention." Dr. Burney writes that "Tartini has asserted that melody is the offspring of harmony as being deduced from it. I cannot presume to dispute so great an authority, but I would only beg to question whether melody or harmony was first practised in the world. Every unprejudiced person will, I believe, coincide with me that although melody can certainly be deduced from harmony yet the former is the elder sister by many a thousand year. Notwithstanding the dependence of melody upon harmony, and the sensible influence which the latter may exert upon the former, we must not however from thence conclude, with some celebrated musicians, that the effects of harmony are preferable to those of melody. Experience proves the contrary." A few had gone the length of asserting that "modern melody has not the merit of the ancient and that harmony is used with the view of compensating for its poorness, and diverting the attention of the audience from perceiving the barrenness of genius." It is remarked by an eminent musician that "the pleasures of harmony though great, were monotonous, and could not express the momentary variations of sentiment, which are as fleeting as the light and shade of prospect, while the dappled clouds fall across the sky." In a similar strain another critic observes that "we may here likewise observe, that as all musical instruments without exception are inferior to that unrivalled gift of nature, a good voice and a single voice is not able to sing in parts, it may be deduced that music in parts was never intended by nature." These are a few opinions of some of the greatest European musicians whose unprejudiced investigations and patient researches had led them to express convictions which are at once honest and trustworthy and which experience easily convinces.

Harmony in the sense in which it is now employed is certainly absent from Hindu music. But some kind of harmony is believed to characterize the music of Oriental nations. Carl Engel believes "some Asiatic nations—as the Chinese Hindus, etc., seem the least to derive gratification from the employment of harmony—still with these also it is by no means so entirely foreign as has often been asserted. The instrumental accompaniments to their songs are always kept in

unison with the voice ; and they possess, besides, some instruments which if we may judge from their construction, are obviously calculated to produce chords, and which cannot be used for unison. Even the bagpipe which is found not only in almost every European country, but also in Hindustan, Tibet and other parts of Asia emits a rude kind of harmony in which the drones hold to the melody a relation called in musical composition *motus obliquis*. The accompaniment of a drone-bass bears therefore a close resemblance to the *Pedal*—a continuous bass-note as sometimes introduced by our composers."

We have thus passed in a hurried review the salient characteristics of melody and harmony ; the early birth of the former and the later growth of the latter ; the naturalty (so to speak) of melody, and the artificiality of harmony : how harmony found its native soil in Europe and how, though it has been transplanted in other soils, it could not thrive ; the causes which tended to develop harmony ; how the discovery of the leading note in the time of the first Crusades, led to the formation of the two important scales—the major and the minor ; how the use of accidentals and systematic change of keys, known as modulation had buttressed it up for duration ; how distinguished men like Rousseau and Dr. Burney were not so completely enamoured of its influence and how these emphasized the uses, importance and beauty of melody ; and lastly, how Oriental nations had some kind of harmony. All this has been reviewed perhaps to an undesirable length. But the importance of the subject will, I believe, justify the detailed account given above. The comparison, it would have been seen is not entirely against melody which, in spite of the harmonic tendency of the modern times, "was the beginning, and will ever be the essence of music through all ages," and which is deemed by even great harmonists to be essential for good music. I shall next attempt to bring out the prominent characteristics of Hindu music, which is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, systems, which has from time immemorial recognised the beauty of melody and revealed its extensive possibilities and which possess compositions which for their splendid style and fine structure are destined to survive all time, notwithstanding the development of harmony.

The important use to which the genius of the Hindus has applied music is the idea of *Raga*—a conception which appears to be unknown in the musical annals of other countries. The musical system is based on the true understanding and real enjoyment of the beautiful effects of *Raga*. The meaning of what is implied by it is rather difficult to make clear without much circumlocution. An approach to its true import can be effected

by explaining it as an elaborate improvisation of combinations of notes appropriately interspersed with the graces peculiar to each Raga and sung without words and devoid of rhythm, according to well-defined principles, tending to produce a highly pleasurable effect on the mind of the hearer. Raga literally means an affection, passion or feeling. According to *Bharata*, the original author of the system, each Raga has for its purpose, the play of one or another of the infinite number of passions that sway the human mind. Such was its supposed connexion with the passions that, according to *Sangita Narayana*, there were as many thousand Ragas as there were Gopis at Mutra, each being allowed to sing one Raga choosing a passion which is at the moment uppermost in her mind with the object of fascinating Krishna. In its physical aspect, it is a felicitous combination of the notes sung as in a fantasia. In its aesthetical aspect it makes "a direct appeal to the sense of hearing resulting in the sensations pleasing to the auditory nerves, and the pleasure derived from its affecting the higher emotions of the heart and the various undefinable feelings and yearnings begotten thereof is the most indispensable character of a Raga." The beautiful effects of a Raga are better felt than described.

With such significance attached to Ragas, the system of Ragas has come to occupy the most prominent place in the musical code of the Hindus. The more ancient system of Ragas and Ragines never seems to have taken root in Southern India. When, how and by whom the Carnatic system had been originally elaborated is difficult to guess, although tradition ascribes it to Narada and the northern system to Hanuman. The scanty materials at our disposal do not enable us to follow the tracing of the musical history of the South after this period. There can be no doubt that the system in vogue here is far more elaborate and scientific than its sister of the North, which is said to have had its origin in Nepal, the looseness of whose musical laws is attributed "to the transformation it had undergone during the long course of its existence, and in its travels through various countries where the free local peculiarities added to its continued metamorphosis and brought about a laxity which is opposed to strict canon." The system of Ragas and Ragines seem to be an arbitrary one. The classification into seventy-two modes is strictly scientific and is sufficiently comprehensive to include under that category every possible variety of note-combination. Excepting the use of accidentals which is not permissible it may be said to be complete for all purposes of melody formations.

The classification of the seventy-two parent modes which has been arrived at by an ordinary arithmetical process forms

the ground-work of the system.* These modes are framed on the principle that every possible combination of notes, which a refined ear can tolerate, should be admitted in the formation of the scales, so that not even an iota out of the enormously rich store-house provided by nature for creating emotional and sensorial effects may be left unutilized." Without going into the details of the process of their formation, it may be briefly stated that they are based on the chromatic division of the scale. Of these a few are highly popular, while the major portion of the modes has been relegated to the limbo of oblivion or only practised by those theorists whose object is not so much monetary acquisition or popular applause as an instructive desire to systematize and simplify the intricacies of the science. Their purity is well preserved and their utility as landmarks in the progress of the science is obviated by a scrupulous adherence to their real forms in spite of a want of popular appreciation. The service that has been thus rendered has been immeasurably great. Many of the popular modes of the Hindu music seem to have been freely utilized in European music. "It will be thus seen that although only two modes are stated to exist in European music, there are really three or four, in ordinary use, all of which are in the Indian system. Besides these Melakarta No. 57 (Simbendramadhyama) is found in Hungary, while a good number of others are met with in Irish and Scotch melodies* * * *. The Oriental tinge is strongly visible in the melodies of Hungary, Andalusia, Slavonia, Scandinavia and other European countries. Of all Spanish songs, those of Andalusia are the most beautiful. In these the Eastern element is deepest and richest, and the unmistakable signs of its presence are the following traits:—first, a profusion of ornaments around the central melody; secondly, a polyrhythmic cast of music,—the simultaneous existence of different rhythms in different parts; and thirdly, the peculiarity of the melodies being based on a curious scale which is apparently founded on the intervals of the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes."

Janya Ragas or secondary or derivative scales play a very important part in Hindu music. These scales have been distributed as Pentatonic, Hexatonic, and Septatonic, the last being the name for the parent modes themselves. The melo-

* [The writer may not be aware why? The *Cabbala*, the Universe of God in the Lord JESUS—the Truth—the Root of all Science, physical (including astronomical), physiological (including philological and ethnographic) or Divine—which is imbedded by Moses, by Divine Inspiration, in the *Pentateuch*, and embraces the whole of the Bible, to the *Book of Revelation*, contains the answer.—ED., C. R.]

dies formed from the former two are very beautiful and highly pleasing. These 'scales have been again divided into Sudha, Chayalaga and Sankirna. Sudha Ragas are those which are strictly amenable to rules as enunciated by the ancient Rishis ; Chayalaga are "those in which foreign influences have worked changes sufficiently distinguishing them from their original nature and Sankirna Ragas partake of the characteristics of both. Many popular Ragas still preserve their pristine purity, which a few, though now and then deviating from recognised principles, have owing to their intrinsic beauty come to be regarded as indispensable for the purposes of good music. Their employment has received the sanction of singers with high musical repute. Some of the most attractive little pieces which are highly popular belong purely to the last class.

The singing of a Raga implies the bringing out of all the graces and embellishments peculiar to it. This species of singing seems to be entirely confined to Hindus among the nations of the world. Musical compositions abound everywhere confined within the limits of time-measurement rarely varied, but an elaborate singing of a Raga with an entire absence of words accompanying it, is a peculiar feature of the Hindu music. This species of singing is known as Alapa. It is the completest expression of a Raga by means of a few unmeaning syllables, such as To, Re, He, Tom or sometimes by words such as Sankara (a name of God, Siva). It is not confined to any tala or measure of time, and may be considered to be a sort of vocalization of successions of notes, whether slow or quick the passage from note to note should take place without the smallest change either of vowel-sound or of tone-quality, and without the slightest escape of useless breath and consequent cessation of vocal sound between the notes or evidence of mechanical effect."

The seventy-two modes and the many subsidiary scales derived therefrom form the main buttress of the Hindu musical system. An important place is assigned to them by some European musicians whose unprejudiced insight into the true principles underlying the science of music has enabled them to take a more impartial view of national systems of music. Reicha, the celebrated German philosopher and musician, in his volume of 36 Fugues proposed what he considered as a new system of scales, harmonies, and cadences which he considered as relative to the usual major and minor scales. He says enthusiastically "according to this system we should have two primitive scales, a major and minor and five relative ones, and by transposition, twelve primitive minor scales ; in all eighty four scales and as many cadences. He further adds "it remains for philosophers and men of genius at a future period

to deduce all the consequences from this important system as well as from the compound measures, and their use. But the subtlety of a conventional taste, the ignorance and the prejudices as fatal to the progress of the arts, and which are peculiar to narrow minds, will be long opposed to such deduction."

The Hindu musicians have early recognised the importance of time-measurement as an indispensable accompaniment to singing. It is unnecessary in this short discourse to discuss the intricate theory of time which has been most elaborately worked out and systematized with a thorough-going accuracy. Many measures of time which have been introduced are, from their intricate nature and practical difficulty, to us only of a historical interest, and few singers will be found equipped with a knowledge of many of these elaborate Talas which can be utilized in the field of practice. The prodigious number of Talas is sufficient to stagger a beginner and few will be found equal to the task of mastering their complexities. Two modes of reckoning time have been employed,—one by reckoning Aksharas, for which the Anudruta corresponding to a Quaver, and the other by Matras whose unit of measurement is the Laghu corresponding to a minim. The Matra Talas have never been utilized in any musical compositions that have been in vogue. These were exclusively employed (if at all) for Pallavi-singing, which is a kind of fantasia abounding in grace where the Raga elaborated *ad libitum*, being throughout governed by a Tala selected for the time being, when the musician not only has to exhibit his knowledge of the principles of the Raga, a strict regard being paid to the Tala selected. Pallavi-singing is regarded as the highest test of a musician's capabilities, though very often it seems to become monotonous and dull owing to want of variety in either the Raga or the time-measurement.

The more important and the more popular are the Jati Talas which are thirty-five in number, the principal varieties being the Eka, Roopaka, Triputa, Mattya, Dhruva, Jhampay, and Ata Talas, each of which is subdivided into five subsidiary measures which vary according to the value of the Laghu is the constituent element in a bar. But, as the popular mind does not trouble itself with the intricacies of the science but is generally satisfied with ordinary measures of time which sufficiently enliven music, composers had to confine themselves only to a few Talas which from their simple character have greater effect.

In the European system, two measures of tune, viz., simple and compound tune are recognised. Here, the rhythmic value of the bār is determined, not by the number

of notes it contains, but by the number of its beats. A measure is said to be in simple tune "when each beat is a whole note, and therefore divisible by two; and compound tune when each beat is a dotted note and therefore divisible by three." The most common forms of the simple tune are the *Alla Breve* which contains in every bar, four beats, each represented by a minim (laghu) or its value in other notes; the common or four crotchet tune containing four beats in a bar, each beat being represented by a crotchet or its value in other notes. The forms of compound Time, most commonly used, are Twelve-four Time with four beats in the bar, each beat represented by a dotted minim or its equivalent, three crotchets; Twelve-eight Time with four beats in the bar, each represented by a dotted crotchet or its equivalent, three quavers; Twelve-sixteen Time, with four beats in the bar, each represented by a dotted quaver or its equivalent, three semi-quavers. There are also other measures of Time, such as unequal or Triple Time, compound Triple Time, quintuple and nonuple Times which are only rarely used. It will be thus seen that the European measures of time are comparatively simpler than the complicated *Tales* of the Hindu system. Simple measures are always fascinating and glide smoothly with music. The *Matra Talas* and their intricacies are least calculated to enlighten the music with which it is associated. They have, therefore, been wisely discarded. The European measures of Time are far more natural and easily understood and followed. The spontaneous activity they give rise to points to their inherent importance as a superior auxiliary to music.

We shall next consider the systems in the light of 'Agremens' or graces which embellish the music in each. Their greatest value is that they elucidate the character of music. A plain singing of the notes is not calculated to please the ear. It is the musical embellishments which enliven and improve it, without which, all music will appear empty and meaningless. Though there is no doubt that a long time must have elapsed since the graces came to assume their present forms, still no music, however primitive, seems to be without at least some simple graces. The drawling and elongation of notes which characterise the folk-songs of every country point to primitive efforts at musical ornamentation. In the course of their evolution, many at first employed were replaced by others, till the national voice has secured for them a permanent place. The earliest in the European music is said to have been the invention of a celebrated French organist of the time of Louis XIV. But they were not actually codified and no definite rules for their application were laid down until

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Emanuel Bach treated them fully. As is the case with music in general, an appreciation of the graces of any musical system is only relative. The favourite graces of one nation are discarded by others who prefer their own. It may be broadly stated that the most important circumstance which has tended to differentiate one system from another, is the peculiar characteristics of the graces which one nation gives preference to, as compared with others. Many of those embellishments that are highly valued and appreciated by Europeans, are least likely to find favour with orientals generally.

The graces recognised in the Hindu system are varied and complicated in character. The earliest works on Hindu music make mention of several *Gamakas* as having been in use. Some restricted them to fifteen, and others to a still greater number. Judging from those now generally employed, those that were formerly employed must have differed considerably from their modern substitutes. Those that are now frequently employed can be divided into classes, namely *Gamaka Jati*, and *Varika Jati* including what are known popularly as *Ravi Jati*. These may be compared to the "smooth and staked graces" which are supposed to have characterized old English music. The smooth graces (or *Varika*) are the more simple which are well-adapted to stringed instruments of the violin group, where they are executed by sliding the finger along the string. *Gamaka Jati*, in the restricted sense of the term, perhaps corresponding to the "skaked graces" are adapted to *Vina*. An expert musician's test of skill is the productive of *Gamaka* graces with the best and most accurate effect. In vocal music, all these varieties can be produced without much effort. The employment of quarter-tones which is disliked by Europeans has facilitated the introduction of the 'shaked graces' which have now become a *sine qua non* for music of the best kind. The theory of the Twenty-two *Srutis* has obviated the employment of quarter-notes. A sort of *gliding* from one note to its adjoining notes through the intervals of the *Srutis* composing the note or notes is what constitutes the beauty of Hindu music and which does not so readily appeal to the ears of other nations whose music may be said to skip rather than smoothly glide.

Hitherto, I have considered the more important features of the European and Hindu systems, such as the comparison of melody and harmony, the use of accidentals and modulation on the one hand and the theory of Ragas and their subsidiary scales on the other. It may be interesting, as well as desirable, to study a little more minutely some of the more important details which accentuate the difference between the systems.

The use of the leading note in European music may be taken to be the basis of harmony and counterpoint. The reason why it is called by preference the leading note is supposed to be "its melodic tendency to lead up to the most important note in the scale." It is not found in the early Greek and ecclesiastical scales. It was at first looked upon with disfavour so much so that Pope John XXII passed an edict against it in 1322. But its position in the scale immediately below the tonic and, separated from it by only a semi-tonic led musicians to adopt it for purposes of harmony. But this note seems to have been recognised very early by the Hindus, as it is found in the earliest Hindu scales. It is found employed in the early Vedic chants. It had, however, never attained the importance which it did in Europe. It is only one of the four notes which lead to the tonic, *viz.*, *Shudha Dhivata Chatusruti Dhivata*, *Kisiki Nishada*, and *Kakali Nishada* (the leading note of the European music). There are many beautiful scales which end in these four notes. Especially the scales which have the ending of *Chatusruti Dhivata* are very much appreciated and liked by the Hindus. In the European music, a cadence without the leading note is considered to be imperfect; but in Hindu music, cadences of all sorts are found, which are very beautiful and which contribute to their highest enjoyment. The only modes recognised in the former are the major and the minor, which correspond to *Dhirasankarabharana* and *Natabhiravi* of the Hindu music. Two other forms of the minor scale in use correspond to *Kiravani*, and *Gourimanohari*. Even here the ascending and descending scales differ. In the European music, the seventh note of the minor scale is sharpened in ascending for the purpose of assimilating the cadence with that of the major scale, with a view to harmony; whereas in Hindu music the ascending and descending scales are the same. In some cases (in the case of *vakra* or irregular scales) though the scales in ascending and descending differ, the difference is not due to an introduction of any note foreign to the scale, but the same consists the different arrangement of the notes. European music is entirely based on the use of accidentals. Europeans delight in the free interpolation of accidentals (*i.e.*) sharps and flats foreign to the key-signature of the mode. In Hindu music, accidentals are strictly prohibited, but they have crept into some Ragas, such as, *Khamboji*, *Bhiravi*, *Sarang*, *Natakuranji*, *Gowlipantu*, *Atana*, *Sourashtra*, etc. "Accidentals are strictly forbidden in purely Indian modes, and are only tolerated conditionally in the case of a few exotic melody moulds; but this does not create monotony. Endless variety is obtained by modulation from mode to mode, as in the case of Raga malikas, but this

is *subject to the inexorable* law that "all such transitions should be made without changing the key-note."

The usual method of determining pitch before commencing any piece of vocal music, is in the European method *c, e, g, c, (sa, ga, pa, sa)*, with *e* natural (Antara Gandhara) for the major mode and *e* flat (Sadharana Gandhara) for the minor mode, in the ascending scale and *c, g, e, c, (sa, pa, ga, sa)* in the descending scale. In the Hindu music, it is *c, g, c (sa, pa, sa)* which is common to all the seventy-two modes, in both ascending and descending scales.

In European music, all melodies commence with some *ore* or other of the *Sruti* notes, *Do, Mi, Sol, Do*, or *La, Do, Mi, Sa*, as this facilitates part singing. In Hindu music the initial notes depend upon the *Raga* which is sung, those notes which bring out its true characteristics, being generally those with which the *Raga* is commenced. But the ending is always with the key-note. The belief held by European musicians that the singing among us ends anywhere or on any note is wrong. Sometimes a piece is closed with *Panchama*, or the fifth note, which is rare and is resorted to for the sake of variety. "In European music the *Sruti* notes sounded before beginning a piece to determine the pitch at which it has to be sung, always include the third or *Mi* (*Gandhara*). This note is deliberately omitted in Oriental pitch determination, because its signature varies in so many of the modes, whereas the notes *Sa, Pa, Sa*, remain immutable and are applicable to all in the seventy-two *mela-karthas*. In European music, however, it is precisely this third which is the characteristic note distinguishing the major from the minor mode, being the *Antara Gandhara* in the former, and the *Sadharana Gandhari* in the latter. This note also plays a most important part in Harmony. Another important distinction counts in the sequence of notes in a melody, which proceeds more by degrees (*di grado*) in Oriental music, following closely the *Arohana* (ascending) and *Avarohana* (descending) of the scales, while the movement is more by skips (*di salto*)—*Dhalu*—in the music of the West."

It has been pointed out above that the measures of tune in European music are more simple than those of the Hindu music, symmetry in the arrangement of music being more cared for and value of notes being more or less uniform. On the other hand the *talas* of the Hindu music are more complicated and less easily comprehended. It is difficult for ordinary persons to at once indicate the true value of a measure or its beats, while all sorts of unexpected positions in a bar are emphasized, which tends to mystify the hearer, so that the charm of music is sacrificed to a comprehension

of the measures employed. The so-called Vishama (irregular) talas are specially difficult to follow owing to the beats falling on unimportant positions. The most important use made of these measures is in what is known as Pallavi-singing which perhaps bears some remote resemblance to what is called the 'working out' in the European music. This consists of three sorts of movements, of which Pallavi-singing may correspond to the development portion where "the music is carried on by working out or developing the figures and phrases of the principal subjects, by reiterating and interplacing the parts of them which are most striking and subjecting them to variation, transformation, fugal treatment, and all the devices both technical and ideal of which the composer is master." I do not mean to say that Pallavi-singing corresponds actually to the description but certainly differs from it in several respects. But still so long as the form of the movement is concerned, the composer or the singer in both cases is left to a great extent to his own resources and judgments; the variations and transformations to be employed depend upon his consummate knowledge of the subject and his powers of improvisation, which, either in vocal or instrumental music, are regarded as the test of the highest culture. The characteristics of Pallavi-singing are described below: "A stock subject is taken up—generally the first words of a well-known song consisting of one *Avarta*—from which the musician proceeds to extemporize variations without end, first confining himself within the limits of this *Avarta* and reverting to the original theme at each step, in strict conformity to the requirements of the science, and then interweaving an elaborate net-work of labyrinthian meanderings around the principal theme, starting at different positions on the scale intermingling swaras with the sahitya, doubling and quadrupling the original tune, changing the Raga and so forth. The existence of stereotyped melody-moulds facilitates improvisations of this character which are so original and variegated that the performer when encored is seldom able to repeat the same strain in the same way as he first sang it." This execution of Pallavi-singing is a very difficult task, and can only be undertaken by musical experts, not unfrequently this is performed to a weary length and then it becomes positively tiresome.

Such is a very brief sketch of the two systems in their important details. It is impossible to reconcile them now, the divergence having become pronounced in the course of ages. The Oriental mind is conservative and change of any kind is resented, whereas the European longing for novelties is prepared to assimilate anything from whatever source it might be received. It is not likely that Hindu music can be im-

proved by foreign methods, though variations may be borrowed for subordinate purposes. The stage music of the modern day has borrowed some of the fine tunes of English music, whose spirit and racy style favour their reception, but it should be remarked that a wholesale assimilation would positively disfigure our music. Some attempts to play our Ragas on the model of European note-combinations have met with serious disapprobation and they are not likely to be repeated. My task is now done, and I have only to hope that indulgent critics would view the drawbacks (if any) of Hindu music in a favorable light, as it is one of the standing systems which have been the fountain-source of many a modern one. A common bondage will, I have no doubt, unite the votaries of the two systems, as music is, in the words of Swinburne,*

“A tone

Of some world far from ours,
Where music, and moonlight and feeling are one.”

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU, M.R.A.S.

ART. III.—WILL ENGLAND RETAIN INDIA?

UNDER this title the veteran journalist, Meredith Townsend, has put forth a collection of papers, contributed from time to time, during the past twenty years or so, to various periodicals of London. Readers will look elsewhere for criticism of the literary sort, of the clear exposition, the brilliant technique, perhaps the occasional falsetto. It is our province to enquire into the political qualities of the series; and to ask how far the statements and conclusions are likely to be useful in the formation of opinion. Especially, will those interested in British India, turn to the paper, headed with the question, "Will England retain India?" which he answers with a negative. Now, as to this prognostic, we may say at once that Mr. Townsend adduces abundant reason for the opinion that the gradual admission of Indian natives to the various branches of the service might eventually lead to a virtual transfer of power from our hands to theirs: barring the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and one or two other high functionaries, all Indian officials will be, possibly, Hindus and Native Moslems, outside the ranks of the European military officers. That, at least, is a conceivable outcome of the competitive system, supposing that the Asiatic candidates should become so numerous and so competent as to swamp the whole of the Christian competitors. But this, unlikely as it seems, might yet happen without breaking up the existing relations between the two countries.

Mr. Townsend bases his pessimistic forecast mainly on the impossibility of a genuine feeling of loyalty on the part of the Indian races towards the representatives of the Empire. And it is just here that the weakness of the whole fabric may be found. For, if the absence of loyalty be not general, or tending to become general, then the forecast, that the Indian races will shake off the British yoke, must lack foundation.

Mr. Townsend was best known in recent times as the Editor—with the late R. H. Hutton—of the *Spectator*, one of the most esteemed of London weeklies. Nevertheless, his apprenticeship to journalism was not passed in London, but in Calcutta—or rather in the suburbs of Serampore—where he, with much success, conducted the *Friend of India*, at a time when that periodical enjoyed the favour not only of the Bengal public but of the Government of India. But such an apprenticeship, it is important to observe, was by no means an ideal training-ground for an Indian publicist. Calcutta is not even now—still less was it in the days of Lord Dalhousie—

a central capital of India. It might, in the winter, afford headquarters for the Supreme Council and some of the Departments ; but to the bulk of the natives it was no more, otherwise, than a quasi-maritime entrepôt at the mouth of a river in Bengal. And Bengal was a remote Province with a population of peculiar habits and character, speaking a language of which no one else understood a word ; in short as much—and as little—interesting to a man at Lahore as Rio de Janeiro can be at this moment to a Mexican. How, then, was the Editor of an English journal in such a place, (before the existence of railways) to form a completely accurate judgment of the state of public opinion all over a peninsula, as large and at least as well-populated—to take Mr. Townsend's own words—as Europe, west of the Vistula ?

If we wish for a concrete example of this difficulty we could not find a much better instance than one which is afforded by the author's statement—positive, as is usually the case with him—to the effect that the people of India have never submitted to alien rule. The fact being that they have never done anything else, so far as can be ascertained ; from the time when they were conquered by Dravidian and Aryan invaders to the days of Lord Ripon's self-government resolution, when they declared piteously that it was the business of the British Civilians to conduct their affairs, and were as aggrieved at being asked to take part in administration as the members of the Carlton Club would be if they were suddenly called upon to bring up their own dinners from the kitchen. The main need of Asiatics is not to govern but to be governed ; and so long as they are governed well there are no more grateful people. Mr. Townsend talks about the Mutiny-time : had he been up-the-country in fifty-seven he would have seen the truth. In Oude, indeed, there was active sympathy with the sepoys ; and for this many cogent reasons existed into which there is no time or space to enter here. But in the older Provinces there was no such feeling shown ; in the latest conquered—the Punjab—least of all. People who did not rebel against a ruined government that could not rule its own soldiery and appeared to have no other available force, were not in a state of very active discontent.

As to "loyalty" as a sentiment, Mr. Townsend does not show any sign of a sense of Asiatic feeling on the subject. Has he never heard of the *Condottiere*, Michel Raymond, who died in the Deccan more than a hundred years ago ; nor of John Nicholson of days much nearer our own ? Does he not know of the homage extorted by the valour and justice of such men, so that their tombs are to this day shrines of perpetual worship and sects are called by their names ? Or,

to take a still more recent case, has he not read what Mr. Theodore Morison of Aligurh has to say of the almost idolatrous regard in which the late Queen was held, and which so clings to her memory that the comparatively poor community of India has contributed three times as much as we in Britain to raise her monument ?

Doubtless, the peoples of the Great Peninsula are entitled—if they so desire—to look forward to a day when, their consolidation having been completed and their political training made adequate, their present teachers and guardians may retire and leave them to their own devices. If the people of our Islands found that all posts of honour and emolument in India were occupied by natives, there would be no other interest left for them, but what belonged to commerce ; and for commercial interests due provision would be made if Britain retained Bombay and Calcutta as she retains Hong-Kong. But that solution is widely different from that which is contemplated by the able but pessimistic publicist from Serampore. What has impressed him is the opinion of the " Babu " class : and probably the same feelings exist in most large towns where Pleaders and Editors of vernacular papers get together to moan over the absence of adventure and gain. That class is very likely fostered by the Pax Britannica ; but their opinion is only their own. They represent no one but themselves ; and they will never expel the British. And here we are brought to the last and the most plausible of all the arguments that are urged in support of Mr. Townsend's unwelcome hypothesis. If the public opinion of India were not strongly in favour of cashiering the foreign administrators, why he asks—should the vernacular Press be so universally disloyal ? The conductors of newspapers do not habitually maintain opinions that are at variance with those of their readers : acting and reading on each other, the public reads what it likes to read, and the Press echoes and enforces the public sentiment. Well, that is the case where newspapers are generally read ; but it is notoriously not the case in countries like Russia where the bulk of the population is absorbed in the pursuit of life's necessities and without the habit of reading. Even less is it so in India, where so few of the men read and none of the women : the newspapers in which the spirit of disloyalty is shown are not produced for the public : their primary object being to terrorise native officials and levy blackmail, it is enough if the sentiments and tone are such as to ventilate the grievances of the *Umedwar* class and foster the envy, hatred and malice of disappointed graduates.

What, then, is the conclusion ? Surely not that there is yet in India a consolidated nationalism, a united community,

inspired by patriotic ardour and yearning for political independence. A Poona Pundit, a Bengali Babu, does not take the same view of things as a Tamul ryot or a Punjab lumbaradar. Eighty per cent. of the vast and varied millions in India subsist by incessant application to agriculture. *Rāya*—the root of our “Ryot”—only means “protected,” and the desire of the peasant is to be protected at his plough and to live without observable taxation. And both of these ideals are satisfied by the “British Raj.”

Unless where dogmatic inaccuracy seems likely to enforce erroneous conclusions it would be ungenerous to dwell upon the misstatements of so distinguished a writer as Mr. Townsend. Doubtless, he has acquired, in the course of his journalistic experience, a belief that to convince the average reader there is nothing more effective than a tone of peremptory oracle unfettered by fact. Every successful writer has his way; and this is sometimes the way of Mr. Townsend. But, however striking or however plausible it be, the public ought to have protection against unfounded assertion used as a basis of reasoning. When Mr. Townsend asserts that no European could rise as Haidar did in the Deccan or Runjeet in the Punjab, he forgets obvious facts like the existing dynasties of Sweden and of Leuchtenberg; but no dangerous doctrine is placed before the reader. It is otherwise when we are informed that Asiatics are never conquered and that India has never endured a foreign yoke. If that were so, the pessimism of the book would have more justification; but it is not. Alexander found no difficulty in conquering Asia; and the power of his successors endured for ages, as has been abundantly shown by Count Goblet d'Alviella. India endured the yoke of various foreign invaders from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries of our era; nay, Mr. Townsend himself draws attention to the sentiment of the sepoys in fifty-seven, who voluntarily rallied round the phantom of the Great Moghul representative, as he was, of alien conquest. A profitable antidote, to what is wrong in this undoubtedly interesting book, will be found in a similar collection of papers by Captain Mahan, U. S. A. From him we may learn a lesson of true statesmanship. Each continent is useful to the other; but in borrowing ideals, the less progressive ought to apply them on indigenous lines. A better feeling may be thus fostered; and the word of Virgil accomplished—*sic redit à nobis Aurora, diem que reducit*.

ART. IV.—LIST OF LITERARY LANGUAGES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

I HAD long considered that it was desirable to compile a list of this sort; it seemed better to divide the subject into two Sections:

- I. Literary Languages, and Dialects.
- II. Illiterate Forms of Speech.

The first Section is quite clear: where there is a Text in existence of a form of speech in some intelligible Written Character, Grammars and Dictionaries spring up round this Text, and we are dealing with something real and substantial. In the other Section we find only names of rude Dialects, Patois, and Jargons, some one of which may eventually settle itself down into a Language, but is not yet worthy of the name. So my attention is restricted to the first Section. If anyone thinks, that I have omitted any form of speech, this must be my excuse: I do not consider it as yet a Literary Language.

I wished the thing to be done, so I addressed the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, which I had joined as far back as 1851, in the following letter:

Sir,

I have the honour to suggest to you the expediency of preparing and publishing in the year 1900 Maps and Lists, exhibiting the number of Languages spoken in the British Dominions, and that a copy be presented to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Such a list of names, and the wide distribution of those names, present Phenomena, which have never been equalled in the History of the World, as every variety and Family of Languages is exhibited.

At some subsequent period, but unconnected with this proposal, it would be expedient to publish a specimen of each of these Languages representing the words "God Save the Queen."

As a Fellow of this Society for a very long period, I beg to tender my gratuitous services in the preparation of these lists, and should be proud to be permitted to be so employed.

I beg to subscribe myself, your obedient Servant,

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST,

Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

October 23, 1899.

SUGGESTIONS OF DETAIL.

1. That the last year of the Century be assumed as the date, and the five portions of the World, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, as the Geographical Divisions.

2. That each Division be represented by a small Map, and a separate numerical List of Languages be prepared for each Division : the number of the Language only to be exhibited on the Map.
3. That these Maps be prepared in the office of the Royal Geographical Society. They will not all be of the same size: that of Europe will be very small, as there are only ten Languages spoken in British Dominions in that Continent : English, Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, Manx, German, French (in the Channel Islands), Spanish (at Gibraltar), Italian and Arabic (at Malta). In Asia and Africa the number will be very large.
4. The undersigned, having compiled several volumes and treatises on the Languages of different parts of the World, is able to supply a correct list of names, properly expressed and spelt, and to enter their numbers in the proper place, and draw up a list as nearly as possible correct and up to date. He has the advantage of many valuable referees, such as Mr. Ray for Oceania, and the lists of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, etc., etc.
5. The words "British Dominions" shall for this purpose be held to include "Semi-independent States," "Protectorates," "Spheres of influence," and "Hinterlands," in fact, every part of the World in which England is the Paramount Power to the exclusion of any interference by another State.

R. N. C.

I received the following reply :

1, SAVILE ROW, BURLINGTON GARDENS, W.
14th November, 1899.

Dear Mr. Cust,

The Council have given their earnest consideration to your proposal to prepare for publication by the Society a list of Languages spoken in the Queen's Empire at the end of the Nineteenth Century, to be embodied in maps prepared by the Society. The Council desire to assure you of their appreciation of your extended labours in this connection, and their sense of the interest which such a work would have. But they do not consider that it comes within the scope of the Society to undertake a publication so purely linguistic in character, and as there are many heavy calls of a geographical nature on the Society's resources, the Council desire to express their regret that they do not see their way to comply with your request.

Expressing my personal regret at having to send you so unfavourable a reply.

I am, yours very truly,
J. S. KELTIE.

I then applied, to the well-known Cartographer, who had assisted in the maps to my published volumes on the Languages of the East Indies and Africa, but my proposal did not find acceptance, so, I had to fall back on my own resources. I looked around me to see what materials were already available.

I "The Imperial Souvenir," by H. Anthony Salmoné, Christmas, 1897, being a Translation of the Third Verse of the National Anthem rendered into Fifty Languages, spoken in the Queen's Empire. Some of them are dead Languages, such as Hebrew and Sanskrit : in other respects the execution is worthy of praise.

II. A most pretentious volume: "The Lord's Prayer in 400 Languages." This, of course, embraced a wider area than the Dominions of the Queen, and the execution is wholly inaccurate and insufficient. The order of arrangement is Alphabetic, instead of being by Geographical Regions. The same form of words of the identical Language entered twice over under different names, such as Norwegian and Danish. The nomenclature of Languages incorrect. Dead Languages such as Hebrew, Sanskrit, Samaritan, Slavonic, Syriac entered : the same Language entered in two forms of script with a view to swell the sum-total : in fact, all the blemishes appeared which attend a list compiled unscientifically. I allude to this as a caution to future compilers of similar works prepared merely for show, and not for use.

III. The List of Translations of the Bible and other Books of the following Societies :

- (1) British and Foreign Bible Society.
- (2) Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- (3) Religious Tract Society.
- (4) Other Societies, English or Foreign, of the same kind.

I was employed the best part of the year 1900 in working out my Ecumenical List of Bible Translations in the whole World, and in whatsoever country prepared : the restrictions upon entry on the list were threefold :

I. Each entry must consist of at least one Book of the Bible.

II. It must be in print and actual circulation.

III. The translation must not be obsolete.

This being done and in print, it was necessary to find out within the area of what kingdoms each Language was spoken, and then to compile a *bona fide* list of Translations into forms of speech spoken by Nations or tribes the subjects of the Empire of Great Britain : this was a laborious task and required peculiar experiences.

The dominions of Great Britain were taken in the widest sense :

- (1) The Mother Country.
- (2) Colonies.

- (3) Dependencies.
- (4) Protectorates.
- (5) Spheres of Influence.
- (6) Hinterlands.

This required some degree of Geographical Knowledge, but I think that the task has been accomplished.

The rough materials being ascertained, they have been distributed in the Five Portions of the Globe :

- (1) Europe.
- (2) Asia.
- (3) Africa.
- (4) America.
- (5) Oceania.

Maps may be subsequently prepared, and the Forms of Speech of each portion of the Globe be printed on separate sheets for the convenience of entering new names as time goes on.

It was my good fortune for many years to pass week by week from the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies to the Bible House and Christian Knowledge Society, and thus to approach very different sources of knowledge, as the Geographer would know nothing of the name of a newly translated Language and the Translator little or nothing of the Geographical position of the Language which he translated. Having myself compiled volumes on the Languages of the East Indies, Africa, Oceania, and the Caucasus Group in Asia, I know both features, and I had the materials ready for a sketch of the Languages of America should time be available.

In spite of omissions, and inaccurate entries, the first attempt must be made, and at the age of 80 I attempt. I shall welcome corrections for a Second Edition.

I have to thank Mr. George Grierson and Mr. Sidney Ray for their kind revision of my Proofs, and the corrections and additions made. Their knowledge is of a later date than mine. But I could hardly have accomplished my task so soon, had I not had the experience gained in compiling the Œcumenical List of Bible-Translations. Every Form of Speech honoured with a Bible-Translation is *ipso facto* a Literary Language. Many more are worthy of that honour, and will soon have it.

I. EUROPE.

No.	Language.	Dialect.		Region.
1	English	...	...	... British Islands.
2	Welsh	...	...	... Wales.
3	Erse	...	...	... Ireland.
4	Gaelic	...	...	... Scotland.
5	Manx	...	...	... Isle of Man.
6	French	...	...	... Channel Islands.
7	Spanish	...	...	... Gibraltar.

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
8	Arabic.	... Malta	... Isle of Malta.
9	Italian	... Yiddish	... Among the Jews in London.
10	German	... Languages	... 8
		Dialects	... 2
		Total	... 10

II. ASIA.

1	Greek	...	... I of Cyprus.
2	Portuguese	... Indo-Ceylon	... I. of Ceylon.

INDIA.

3	Persian	...	... Panjab and Sindh.
4	Baluchi	...	... On the Frontier.
5	Pashtu	...	...
6	Kashmiri	...	... Kashmir.
7	Panjabi	1 Standard	... Central Panjab.
		2 Dogri	... Hill Country.
8	Western Panjābī (Lāhādā, Multānī, Uchhī, Dēraṭāl)	...	... W. Panjab.
9	Western Pahari	1 Chambālī	... Hill Country.
		2 Kangri	...
		3 Kuluhī	...
		4 Sirmāuri	...
10	Khowar	...	... Chitral.
11	Shina	...	... Gilgit.
12	Sindhi	...	... Sindh.
13	Hindi	1 Standard	... North-West Provinces.
		2 Urdu or Hindustani	...
14	Eastern Hindi	... Awadhī	... East of Banāras.
15	Central Pahārī	1 Garhwālī	... Hill Country.
		2 Kumaoni	or
		Palpa	...
		3 Jaunsāri	...
16	Bengali	1 Standard	... Bengal and Orisa.
		2 Mahometan	...
17	Oriya	...	...
18	Bahārī	1 Maitthilī	...
		2 Magohī	or
		Maghadi	...
		3 Bhojpūri	...
19	Kortha	...	... On the confines of Assam and Bengal.
20	Assami or Assamese	...	... Assam, Nepal, and Tibet Frontier.
21	Nepali	...	...
22	Lepcha or Rong	...	...
23	Lushai	...	...
24	Manipūr	...	...
25	Tibét	...	...
26	Garo	...	...
27	Angāmī	...	...
28	Khāsi	...	...
29	Mikir	...	...

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
30	Típura or Mrung ...	...	Assam, Nepal, and Tibet Frontier.
31	Khamti ...	...	"
32	Nora ...	...	"
33	Phakiyál ...	...	"
34	Tairong ...	...	"
35	Aiton ...	...	"
36	Rajastháni ...	1 Standard 2 Marwari 3 Jalpúri	Central India.
37	Khond ...	...	"
38	Gond ...	...	"
39	Kurku ...	...	"
40	Mandári or Kol ...	...	"
41	Santál ...	...	"
42	Malto or Rajmahali or Máler ...	...	"
43	Oraon or Kurukh ...	...	"
44	Gujaráti ...	1 Standard 2 Parsi	Bombay.
45	Maráhti ...	1 Standard 2 Konkani	"
46	Télugu ...	...	Madras and Ceylo
47	Tamul ...	...	"
48	Tulu ...	...	"
49	Toda ...	...	"
50	Koi ...	...	"
51	Malayálim ...	...	"
52	Kánnada or Kanarese ...	1 Standard 2 Bídaga	"
53	Hindi ...	Dakhani	"
54	Sinháli or Cinghalese ...	...	"
55	Barma ...	...	Barma and Indian Archipelago.
56	Shán ...	...	"
57	Kachin ...	...	"
58	Karén ...	1 Bghai 2 Sgau 3 Pwo	"
59	Pegu or Mon or Talain ...	...	"
60	Nicobár I. ...	1 Standard 2 Nancouri	Andaman Is.
61	Alfuor ...	...	Celebes I.
62	Dyak ...	...	I. of Borneo.
63	Malay ...	1 Standard 2 Low 3 Samarang	"
CHINA.			
64	Canton ...	...	Hongkong
65	Mandarin ...	Pekin	Weihaiwei.
	Languages ...	...	65
	Dialects ...	...	20
		Total	85

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
III. AFRICA.			
A. NORTH.			
1	Arabic	...	Egyptian Sudan.
2	Nuḥa	...	"
B. EAST.			
3	Swahili	1 Zanzibár 2 Mombasa	Zanzibar I. and Mainland.
4	Giryáma	...	" "
5	Chagga	...	" "
6	Sagalla	...	" "
7	Pokómo	...	" "
8	Kamba	...	" "
9	Gogo	...	Zanzibar I. and Mainland.
10	Taveta	...	" "
11	Galla	...	" "
12	Yao	...	Nyasaland.
13	Nkondi or Kondi	...	"
14	Nyanja	...	"
15	Nyasa	...	"
16	Nyika	...	"
17	Nganga	...	"
18	Tonga	...	"
19	Ngoni	...	"
20	Sena	...	Zambesi Province.
C. CENTRAL EQUATORIAL.			
21	Ganda	...	Uganda Province.
22	Toro	...	"
23	Nyoro	...	"
24	Sukúma	...	"
D. WEST.			
25	Kuranko	...	Sierra Leone.
26	Temne	...	"
27	Mende	...	"
28	Bullom	...	"
29	Susu	...	"
30	Aká or Gá	...	Gold Coast.
31	Ashanti	...	"
32	Fanti	...	"
33	Ewé	1 Anlo 2 Popo	"
34	Yóruba	...	Lagos I. and Yorubaland.
35	Hausa	...	Niger Territory.
36	Ibo	1 Niger 2 Isoama 3 Qua Ibo	"
37	Idzo or Ijo	...	Niger Territory.
38	Igbíra	...	"
39	Nupé	...	"
40	Effk	...	Old Calabar.
41	Umon	...	"
42	Akúnakúna	...	"
43	Qualla	...	Kamerún.
44	Isubu	...	"

No.	Language.	Dialect.			Region.
E. SOUTH.					
45	Chuána	...	...	..	Transvaal, Orange State, Bechuana-land, Ba-Suto- land, Rhodesia, Cape Colony.
46	Pedi	...	...	...	" "
47	Dutch	...	Cape	...	" "
48	Gwámba	...	1 Thonga 2 Ronga	...	" "
49	Shona	...	...	...	" "
50	Tabéle	...	...	..	" "
51	Suto	...	...	...	" "
52	Zulu	...	...	...	" "
53	Kafir or Xosa	...	...	...	" "
54	Khoi-khoi or Hotten- tot	...	...	...	" "
	Languages	...	...	...	54
	Dialects	..	...	...	4
Total				...	58

IV. AMERICA.**NORTH.**

1	Eskimo	...	1 Greenland 2 Labrador	<i>Arctic Coast,</i> Greenland, Labrador
2	Tukudh	...	...	Canada.
3	Haida	...	...	<i>Pacific Coast,</i> Columbia.
4	Kwágutl	...	...	Vancouver I.
5	Zimshi	...	...	Columbia.

CENTRAL.

6	Beaver	...	...	Canada.
7	Blackfoot	...	...	"
8	Chipewán	...	...	"
9	Iroquois	...	...	"
10	Kri	...	1 Hudson Bay 2 Musoni	"
11	Malisft	...	1 Standard 2 Abenagui	New Brunswick.
12	Mikmak	...	...	"
13	Mohawk	...	...	Canada.
14	Ojibwa or Saulteaux	...	...	"
15	Timné or Slavé	...	...	"

SOUTH.

16	Acawóio	...	...	British Guinea.
17	Karib	...	...	Honduras.
18	Yáhgán	...	...	Tierra del Fuego.
	Languages	...	...	18
	Dialects	...	...	3

Total ... 91

No.	Language.	Dialect.		Region.
V. OCEANIA.				
POLYNESIA.				
1	Rarotonga	...	...	Harvey and Cook Is.
2	Niue	...	...	Savage I.
3	Tonga	...	...	Friendly Is.
4	Maori	...	...	New Zealand.
MIKRONESIA.				
5	Gilbert I.	...	...	Gilbert I.
MELANESIA.				
6	Fiji	...	...	Fiji Is.
7	Rotuma	...	...
8	Lo	...	...	Torres Is.
9	Mota	...	...	Banks Group.
10	Deni	...	...	Santa Cruz I.
11	Wango	...	...	San Christoval I.
12	Ula'wa	...	...	Canturiata I.
13	Florida	...	...	Florida I.
14	Bugotu	...	...	Isabel I.
15	Panaeti	...	...	Louisiade Archipelago. New Guinea.
16	Roro	...	...	Yule I.
17	Motu	...	...	Port Moresby.
18	Kéapára	...	...	Hood Lagoon.
19	Hula	...	...	Hood Peninsula.
20	Suau	...	...	South Cape.
21	Suau	...	...	East Cape.
22	Tavára	...	...	Milne Bay.
23	Dobu	...	...	Goulvain I.
24	Wedau	...	...	Bartle Bay.
25	Kiwai	...	...	Delta of Fly River.
26	Touripi	...	...	West of Cape Possession.
27	Mer or Miriam	...	...	Murray I.
28	Saibai	...	...	N. W. of Torres St.
29	Mabuiag	...	...	Jervis I.
AUSTRALIA.				
30	Diétri	...	...	Cooper's Creek (South).
	Languages	...	...	30

APPENDIX.

Number of Forms of Speech.

I.	EUROPE	...	...	10
II.	ASIA	...	...	85
III.	AFRICA	...	...	58
IV.	AMERICA	...	...	21
V.	OCEANIA	...	...	30

Total ... 204

R. N. CUST.

ART. V.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

III.—KARYTÆNA AND MEGALOPOLIS.

"Ἀλφεὺν παρ' εὐρυδίνον

Bacchylides, Od. V.

FROM the hospitable doors of Leondarites of Andritsæna the road lies fair before us and we start with a confident expectation of reaching Megalopolis without difficulty by night-fall. It is said to be eight hours to Megalopolis and a carriage-road all the way; as appears indeed, from the map. But the map gives little indication of the scale and intricacy of the mountains eastward from Andritsæna. A broad and easy high road, all through the day's march, we freely and thankfully acknowledge, but it winds and twists round gigantic grooves in the hill-side, diverges at intervals to make the circuit of some enormous basin scooped out of the ridge and in one way and another gets prolonged beyond expectation. Ultimately we fetch up at the foot of the cliff, on which perches the town and castle of Karytæna, about six in the evening. But it is a grand walk taking us back by midday within sight of the Alpheus,—now in its middle course (some thirty miles above the point we crossed on Sunday below Olympia), a mountain stream flowing at a great depth below, in a rocky channel between precipitous cliffs. These cliffs form the "Stena" or "Straits" of the Alpheus, a narrow passage through a broad barrier of high mountains that separate the upper from the lower waters of the Alpheus, and along which the river bores its way through sheer rock from the plain of Megalopolis to the low-lands of Elis. The latter part of our march lies right along one side of these straits or "Narrows," till we reach Karytæna itself. A grand stretch of scenery it is, far too good to hurry over—a spell of travel most fitly taken with a certain deliberation, with occasional halts and leisurely survey. It is vastly enjoyable on this method, and we are subsequently too pleased with our experiences of Karytæna to regret that we stopped there.

Clear of the town we are at first merely following down the ridge on which Andritsæna is planted at the head of its broad and fertile valley. The spaciousness and careful cultivation of the open slopes below the road sufficiently account for the size and prosperity of the town. We continue for a couple of miles or so in a northerly direction, and approximately on one level, then break through to the right, and thereafter the road laboriously descends in a long sweep to round a huge gap, ultimately crossing a stream at the lower margin.

Arrived at the bridge we rest delightfully in the shade beneath it in the comfortable belief, that the scanty stream that flows by us is the Alpheus, which would make us to be already half way to Karytæna. We prove to be very much out of our reckoning, for we are not yet quite half way to the Alpheus; but it is none the less pleasing to sit idly for a time in the shadow of the bridge (it is very hot) and watch the water in complacent forgetfulness of everything but the contentment of the moment. From the bridge we begin a long ascent and presently open up a new prospect of fine open mountain country, as varied and as ample in scale as that we have left behind. Soon the road is skirting the top of another great ridge-line and we are overlooking the "Straits" of the Alpheus. The river is discerned winding far below us a pale whitish green, and some distance further down the stream a great rift breaks in from the north, through which flow the waters of the Gortynius. The steep slopes are fairly well-wooded and all round the mountains rise high.

A little further on we come upon a shepherd sauntering near the road-side, watching the flocks that are scattered far down the steep incline below. He smokes a cigarette with us and points out the "Castro," a fortress like a mediæval castle on a pointed rock away to the right and across the great ravine we are skirting. This, though we do not at first recognize it, is the 'Castle' of Karytæna.

We now begin to look out for the Khan of Dragomani, which should lie somewhere on our road. We find it about an hour from the bridge at the far end of another recess falling back from the main gorge, round which our road follows. At the head of this shallow ravine is a bridge, and just before the bridge a few scattered houses. Here we are for the time being transplanted into softer regions—a quiet comfortable hollow running deep from the Alpheus, pleasantly rural and carefully cultivated, a bit of ideal Arcadian scenery. One of the houses proves, as we conjectured, the *khan*. We know it by the bench and table in front and a cellar like interior. A dog slinks away round the corner of the house as we come up, unlike most of his truculent race. An old woman's head appears for a moment at a window above; otherwise there seems no one about. We drop on to the convenient bench, shift our packs and await developments. Hens wander about the legs of the table and flutter down from the loft above our heads. Presently a well-favoured peasant woman comes out and provides wine and bread and store of cool water. Often do we bless the abundant water-springs of the land and the good custom which supplies a large tumbler of water with whatever else of meat or drink the wayfarer requires,

be it wine, coffee, mastic or "lookoumi." Nothing could look less promising than this forlorn barn-like little hostelry, yet a tentative request for rice leads to the display of a few grains of that cereal and we order some to be boiled, as a change on the inevitable eggs and bread. There is no milk and the boiled rice lacks savour, but it turns out eatable and cooling. A comely woman is our hostess and not without intelligence but she tries to overreach us in the reckoning; this last a rare experience with us, so that we go on our way a little saddened.

The road ascends once more and at last, after long winding, brings us back into the main valley with the *Castro* still provokingly inaccessible. We come out rather suddenly once more upon the gorge of the Alpheus, which is now very deep and narrow. The *Castro* proves to be on the far side, not on the nearer as at first it seemed to be, and is separated from us by an immense chasm. The houses on the right of it must belong to Karytæna as well as those on the left. The scenery is grander than ever. The Alpheus has cut for itself a deep channel through the solid rock and goes tumbling from one level to another pretty well a thousand feet below. The rocks rise in sheer precipices on the far side, while on the nearer there is in places a steep cultivated slope. Here and there the river is lost to sight among the rocks. The battle-mented citadel tops the cliff defiantly and completes a very romantic picture. It occupies a most commanding position and looks from this side quite impregnable. Down again we wind, steeply and continuously, turning in succession to every point of the compass. Finally we are heading well to the S. E. in exactly the opposite direction to Karytæna.

On reaching comparatively level ground, we turn once more, and this time decisively, for the town on the hill and soon overlook the curious mediæval bridge which here crosses the Alpheus. We have loitered so pleasantly, that it is now obviously impossible to reach Megalopolis before dark. We look at the serried ranks of the houses of Karytæna high up the steep and wonder what accommodation we shall find there for the casual stranger. We do not doubt we shall find some. Hospitality is a virtue which still flourishes in primitive fashion in the interior of Greece, and the first peasant you meet will share his cottage with you, if you have no better shelter. As we make on for the bridge, two men come out of a comfortable country-house by the road-side, one in Greek dress, the other in the sober garb of the west. This seems a good opportunity of gaining information. The old gentleman in the black coat answers our enquiries courteously and in French. There is no hotel, but if we ask for the house of Panagiotes Balasopoulos, we shall find food and lodging. The bridge is

charming, quaintly battlemented and spanning the river in six arches at a considerable height above the water. On the further side is a little chapel, dedicated to the Panagia and intended as a sacred protection against wintry floods' says Leake. (Morea II, 21.) It is consolatory to find that so practised a campaigner as Leake found Karytæna equally difficult to reach. "The road" he says "makes such a circuit in reaching Karytæna, that its hill remains behind us as we descend into the plain to the southward of the town," and adds: "It takes near half an hour to ascend from the bridge to the town; we do not arrive till 7 P.M., though the direct distance from Andritsæna is not more than eight miles." (*Ib.* p. 22.) We, too, find the ascent laborious, but shorten it somewhat by following two peddlers up a mule-track which cuts across the great curve which the carriage-road takes and rejoin the latter as it enters the town. We pass a small church with a little campanile, with two-light round-headed windows, exactly like the campaniles one sees in Lombardy. Can this be Lombard? The map shows a place "Langobardos" further south on the Messenian Coast? Plainly castle and bridge and campanile belong to the time of Frankish occupation, when French knights were princes of Achaia and there was actually a barony of Karitæna. But one does not specially connect the foreign domination with the Lombard. We fall in with a troop of school-boys who ask if we are Germans, probably because it is generally the Teuton who goes on foot. We enquire for the house of Panagiotēs Balasopoulos (Anghice Valasopoulos) and the whole troop forms an escort for us. Our new friends lead us up by a side path, and bring us into the court-yard of a substantial homestead in the higher part of the town. We are very kindly received, and are shown into an upper chamber, with windows on three sides, delightfully airy and commanding a view of the castle. Here the whole household group round us with smiles of welcome, the good man himself, four sons of various ages, a grown up daughter and two charming elderly ladies, whose precise relationship it is difficult to guess. We are speedily at home: water is brought for washing, and towels and a basin and slippers for our feet. Then with no long delay plentiful supplies of food and drink on a cosy table laid with a fair white cloth—eggs and bread and *κράσι* and rice-and-milk flavoured with nutmeg, some rather suetty butter, and a delicious confection of guavas. Coffee and cognac to finish up. Evidently we have fallen on our feet. The food is more abundant, and better and better served than at Andritsæna, and the supply of plates and spoons less restricted.

Clouds had been hovering about all day and by evening

the sky was overcast. Soon after we got in the wind began to rise and a storm seemed to threaten. Our room has altogether five double windows. There are shrewd gaps in several of these, in some cases a whole pane is wanting. Consequently the room becomes a little breezy and many and ingenious are the contrivances of our hosts to keep the wind out, pillows being freely pressed into the service—I should rather say the gaps. Nevertheless it tends to become chilly and we find it expedient to go to bed early.

It is broad day-light before we are up; the wind is still boisterous and the sky lowering. For breakfast we have some excellent fish, fresh-caught from the Alpheus. We have first to see the 'castle,' one of the sons offering to show the way. A short climb up a steep path takes us to the outer walls. Our opinion of the strength of the position is fully confirmed on a closer acquaintance. The rock is absolutely precipitous on three sides, and steep and easily defensible on the fourth. The castle is now a deserted ruin, two or three dismantled muzzle-loading guns alone suggest its former uses. In a vault under the main building is a large well from which the women of Karytæna still draw water: there are so many this morning that the castle rock is quite populous. It would be difficult to find a more airy situation than the ramparts: the views all round are magnificent.

At the entrance to the castle is a very interesting little church apparently of the same age as the fortress and the bridge, with two Byzantine columns, the capitals curiously carved: also a rood screen with modern painted panels representing scenes from the life of Christ. This chapel is still in use as a church of the Orthodox faith.

Karytæna is described by Leake as 'one of the most important military points in the Morea.' The *Castle* was abandoned even at the time of his visit, and the town, too, he found "much depopulated of late; there now remaining about two hundred families, of which not more than twenty are Turkish" (Morea III, p. 23.) Yet town and castle played some part in the struggle for independence, as is witnessed by a marble obelisk on the path up to the citadel which commemorates a Greek patriot, Liacus, son of Liacus, who fell there in an assault upon the place. The monument is set up by his son, a Colonel in the Greek service. All this the inscription records. Karytæna figures also in Mr. A. C. Benson's novel *The Vintage*.

We decide to go on, relying on our kind hostesses' assurance that it will not rain to-day, or not rain much. Our revised plan is to get with all speed to Megalopolis and make at once for the unfinished railway between Kalamata and Tripolis which approaches at Marmaria within an hour's distance (so we gather) of Megalopolis. The train from

Kourtaga is timed to leave Marmaria at 2 P. M. As Megalopolis is about eleven miles from Karytæna along a smooth road with no high ground between, it seems that we ought to do well enough, starting about 10.

The whole Balasopoulos household assembles to speed us on our way. We take an affectionate farewell: then swing out down the easy slope of the road to the plain. We turn our backs with genuine regret on Karytæna and its hospitalities: our experiences there have been so pleasant. Nothing could have been kinder than our reception and entertainment—nor more enjoyable. The great brown upland plain shelves away at the foot of the hill, far to the southward. Behind us are the Narrows (Stena) of the Alpheus, through which the river takes a circuitous course to Olympia and the western sea. Along the side of a cliff to the northward climbs the road to Dimitzana. Our road is now marked out by stades on solid stone pillars, the first we come to on the level, showing seventeen to Megalopolis, or a little over ten miles. So it is a perfectly definite and straight-forward piece of work. The sky is still overcast and a refreshing breeze blowing, which is all in favour of the pedestrian. Rain threatens all the morning and is evidently heavy over the hills about Andritsæna; we get nothing as yet but an agreeable drizzle. It is really a piece of luck to be thus screened from the sun on what must otherwise have been an exceptionally hot march in a shadowless land. Presently we edge up into the low brown hills to the left of the plain. Then round a picturesque gorge or two, sheep-haunted as nearly always in this country, and ultimately out of the valley of the Alpheus and into that of its tributary the Helisson on the banks of which the *great city* of the Arcadians was built. We press on steadily. Stade posts, like kilometres, have this advantage over mile-stones that they recur with a more encouraging frequency. It is no heavy task to devour the plain from one to the next, and to-day, under the combined stimulus of the fresh air and a desire to catch a train (oh, that we should have come to this two days' journey from Bassæ!), the stones succeed each other with very creditable rapidity. At about two stades from the modern township, which has borrowed the name of Megalopolis, though in reality, some distance from the ancient town, we sight the triple-arched bridge over the Helisson, and just short of it, pass at no great distance from the road, recumbent pillars, scattered stones and other obvious signs of the archæologist militant. The Theatre, too, was within sight on the further side of the river, if we had known, requiring only a little attention to detach its tiers of seats from the low rounded hill, against which they are built.

And so at speed into the main street of Megalopolis. On the first opportunity we enquire as to the train. Yes, there is a train, and it starts from Marmaria at half-past one *μισή μία*. This is half an hour earlier than we were reckoning and puts out our calculations, for it is now one, and the distance to the station is estimated at an hour. 'Can we get a carriage?' 'No, but we can have horses at eight drachmas each.' Now the *ἄλογον* or brute-beast of the country has his own pace and cannot readily be induced to adopt yours, however pressing your hurry. We judge the chances not good enough and give up the railway for to-day. We must make the best of Megalopolis whereby we secure for the morrow the most varied and interesting day of our march.

Accordingly, we reconnoitre the 'grand square,' a patch of waste or common flanked by roads and good-sized two-storied houses, evidently the centre of city life and commerce at Megalopolis, in quest of an inn. We select the most prepossessing *Ξενοδοχεῖον* and call up "mine host, a big, ruddy, jolly-looking, brown-bearded Greek, who would not have looked out of place as a brawny craftsman in a picture of the Roman Forum in the early days of the Tribunes. Him we follow into a courtyard through a passage under the house, and so up some rickety wooden stairs, outside to the upper storey. Passing in from the verandah, we find a couple of rooms, in size and structure very like those we have occupied at Andritsæna and Karytsæna, clean enough, but somewhat bare and poorly furnished. The larger is spacious and square and untidily hung with gaudy changes of raiment, presumably belonging to our host. Even here there are photographs and the inevitable print of Colonel Smolenski, the hero of Velestino," seemingly to-day the most popular man in Greece. This room has only tables, chairs, boxes, and a mirror round which the photographs are ranged. Both rooms look on to the square or *ἀγορά*. Below, our host has a shop. We are now to make trial of the ordinary traveller's accommodation in a Greek county town, instead of being privileged guests in a private house; and this experience also has its piquancy. In Greece, the inn where you lodge and the house where you eat, are distinct and separate: the one is a *ξενοδοχεῖον* or *inn*, the other an *ἐστιατόριον*, or *eating house*. For coffee and the news there is further the *Καφῆριον* or *Café*, which is different from either; and there is again the *ὄνοπωλείον* or wine shop. When you have once fallen into the way of it, you can ring the changes on these places of entertainment amusingly. Our next concern is lunch, which we get at a corner shop close by. A Greek eating-house offers unique facilities for seeing and choosing

the raw material of your repast, and, if you please, of seeing it cooked. On one side, generally near the door, are set out eggs, vegetables, bread, fruit, dried fish and three or four covered pots. If you want to know what these last contain, the proprietor, who is also cook, raises the lid and you appraise the savoury mess by sight and smell. If you don't fancy any of the hot dishes ready cooked, you may safely order eggs to be boiled; we found the eggs in Greece invariably 'new-laid;' but unless you like them in a fluid condition, be careful to add "*πολὺ βραστὰ*" (*pollē vrastā*) *i.e.*, *well-boiled*. Sometimes you can get an excellent omelette made. On this occasion we lunch plentifully, even luxuriously,—on fish, bread, salad and a little glass of mastich (seeing it is raw and cold) and the whole feast for the two of us costs two drachmas, or about a shilling. We then bethink us of 'antiquities,' and in particular of the theatre, excavated by our fellow-countrymen. First, to a Café to glean information. The upshot is, we are guided by a party of shock-headed Arcadians, who are going in the direction of the excavations, and a Megapolitan boy who has probably an eye to gain. We diverge from the road across ploughed fields and through maize already knee-deep in the direction of the Helisson, and in about twenty minutes come upon the site of the Theatre. The Theatre at Megalopolis was built against the slope of a low hill facing the river, the wings of the auditorium being artificially banked up. The magnificence of these remains is a pleasant surprise: we had not expected anything so good, indeed in our simplicity—I should rather say in the presumption of ignorance—fondly deemed that there was nothing at Megalopolis to stay for. On the contrary it would be well worth one's while to go a good bit out of one's way to see the Theatre. It must have been enormous when complete, and the whole, with the exception of the upper tiers of seats, remains and has been excavated—the orchestra, proscenium, several of the lower rows of seats, all in excellent preservation; and also the outlines of great buildings behind the stage. If the ill-supported British School at Athens has been unable to accomplish anything to compare with the German excavations in the Olympic plain or the French excavations at Delphi, it has done a good sound piece of work here at Megalopolis.

The lower tiers of seats in the auditorium—some half-dozen rows of them—are nearly perfect. The sections of the lowest half-circle are furnished with stone backs, and with arms at the extremities of each division (where the passages that form the blocks or 'cunei,' run up), and these divisions are inscribed with outlandish names, probably of the Arcadian tribes that combined to found the city. All the stone has disappeared

from the upper rows, but the shape can still be traced on the hill above. The passage that forms the 'parodos' is very plainly marked, and there is only one such passage instead of two; also a long, narrow platform, which unless won over to the new theory of Dorpfeldt, you unhesitatingly assume to be the stage. Behind this line and towards the river are broken remnants of pillars extending over a wide space and walls of a less massive character than those belonging to the theatre. These are the remains of a building once known from its founder's name, as the Thersilion, the house of assembly of the "Myriad Arcadians."

Megalopolis was the youngest of the cities of ancient Hellas; it was built under peculiar circumstances, being founded in 370 B. C., the year after the overthrow of Spartan military supremacy at the battle of Leuctra. Large number of Arcadians were persuaded, or otherwise induced, to leave the villages and townships in which they had lived from remote times and go and settle in Megalopolis, which was made into a great city of the usual Hellenic type, little to the satisfaction, perhaps, of many of its new burgesses who had all the mountaineer's attachment to their old homes. It was a big place, as its name implies; the population is estimated at 60,000, but it has no history to speak of. It derives some lustre, however, from Philopœmen and Polybius who were born there.

The English excavations at Megalopolis were carried out in three periods, making altogether six months of work during the years 1890 and 1891. The site of the Theatre was cleared in the last period, from March 21st to the end of May 1891. The depth of earth that had to be cleared from the orchestra was 10 feet. The chief points of interest are thus summed up by the excavators in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*:

"The Theatre at Megalopolis is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting Greek Theatres hitherto excavated. The auditorium as a whole is, indeed, far less perfectly preserved than the corresponding part of the Theatre at the Hieron of Asclepius near Epidaurus, and the general beauty of the design is less striking. But the seats of honour at Megalopolis are in better condition than those at Epidaurus, and the stage buildings have undergone less alteration in later times."

"Again the Megalopolitan Theatre has several features, which are altogether without parallel elsewhere. The connexion of the Theatre with a great covered hall (the Thersilion) the portico of which served as a background for theatrical representations, is an altogether new feature. And the same is true of the Σκανοθήκη, which was the corollary of the Thersilion, since the latter occupied the place usually assigned to property and dressing rooms."

Journal of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Papers No. I, p. 91.

The Skanotheka, which was a store-house for stage properties, is the building on the right. It was identified by means of tiles found on the site inscribed Σκανοθήκας.

The work of the British School comprises several other excavations in other parts of the town and a tracing out of the line of the old walls. The whole site would take a long time to explore, but no other very considerable remains have been unearthed. The walls have a special interest, because Megalopolis differs from nearly all other Greek cities in having been built in a comparatively open plain; but an exploration of the site has brought out the fact, that it was not chosen without a due regard to military considerations; and, indeed, we could expect no less from the military capacity of Epaminondas. Remains of wall have been found in twelve distinct places, and the great extent of ground included bears out the statement of Pausanias that the circumference was 50 stades.

H. R. JAMES.

ART. VI.—THE TANTRA IN RAJPUTANA.

MY previous article dealt generally with Tantric Literature, putting off the consideration of its contents to a subsequent paper, as requiring a separate treatment. The literature is so very extensive and so very diverse that one article will not suffice to give it anything like a full consideration; the more so, as it has never received, as far as I am aware, a comprehensive treatment up to this time. Professor H. H. Wilson included the Saktas among the religious sects of which he wrote "sketches"—but a very meagre sketch he gave of the Saktas and still more so of their literature. He was not in possession of the necessary material. The search for MSS. which has been carried on all over India, by orders of the Imperial Government, has removed this excuse from the present day Sankritists. Still not one of them, as far as I am aware, has availed himself of the accumulations of these 30 years. What we are now troubled with is an *embarras de richesses*, a plethora of material of a kind. Hence our passing over Bengal and our selecting Rajputana, where we have just one great library, but that a very full one, reported on not by 'apprentice hand,' but by one who had already earned his spurs in a warfare for MSS. in the Bengal search, in which he completed ten volumes ere he laid down the pen as far as this life is concerned.

The work* before us contains 'Notices' of as many as 1619 MSS. of which 204 are Vedic, that is Sanhitas, Brahmanas, and Aranyakas; or, in other words, Hymns and Ceremonials. These, with the Upanishads and Vaidikas, are classed together in the first chapter under the heading "Veda Sastra—Vedic Literature."

Chapter XIV is devoted to "Tantra Sastra (Mysticism)" as expressed in the Table of Contents, or simply as "*Tantra*" in the body of the volume. The chapter embraces 130 Tantric MSS.

The object of this paper is to give some clear idea as to the contents of these 130 MSS. and to elucidate, as far as we can, from Dr. Mitra's Notices, the system of religion which they embody.

* A catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H. H. the Maharajah of Bikaner, compiled by Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E. Published under orders of the Government of India. Calcutta, 1880. Pages 758 octavo. The Tantras in the volume number from No. 1243 to No. 1372 inclusive. pp. 574—626. The arrangement of the MSS. in the catalogue is simply alphabetical; the section beginning with *Ankola* and ending with *Yogini*.

The Tantras are said to treat of five subjects. I have failed to find any trace of such a systematic treatment of destruction, power, union or emancipation and *Sārshī* or becoming god, as the statement seems to imply. Scarcely can any two Tantras be found treating of any such system, or indeed of any such system as one is led to expect; so I have to make a system, arrangement of subjects, or programme of my own. I begin therefore with a definition of the Sakta religion founded on these 130 Tantras as described by Dr. Mitra. It is to begin with, a ritualistic, ceremonial, esoteric religion, having in the first place, a spiritual emancipation, union or fellowship, if not identification, with God, as its end, and in the second place the acquisition of supernatural powers and selfish ends, by means of mantras, enchantments, incantations, magic, sorcery, charms, spells, gesticulations, diagrams or yantras, regulation of the breath, the five *makars* (or M's), lucky shells, lighted lamps, and the alphabet, and we might add many other means and aids. The worship is directed towards gods and goddesses, more especially to the latter under the designation of *saktis* or female energies, that is goddesses, Durga or Kali being, far-and-away, in one or more of her many forms, the deity worshipped. Instruction is imparted in regard to the worship by means of books, *Tantras*, all of which are in the Sanskrit language, and in manuscript. Some of these MSS. are enormously large, extending to 60,000 slokas, and some infinitesimally small, only one sloka, at least so small as to be encased in an amulet worn on one's arm. Some of them are spoken of as original—64 in all—and the others compilations, many hundreds in number. Some take the form of hymns, others are digests and yet others are commentaries. Some consist merely or mainly of liturgies or descriptions of rites, almost all of which are said to be mystic or mysterious, and some bestial, and all are esoteric professedly. Some of these books are medical treatises and others astrological. Some are dogmatic or philosophic and others are mere stories or myths. There are but very few of this last class. There are some whose contents greatly vary. They treat of various matters, while others confine themselves to only one or two subjects. We may give specimens of the contents of some of each kind and directly or indirectly of all. Here, for example, are the contents of *Bhuta-Damara*, (No. 1250) which is said to be one of the 64 original Tantras, largely quoted by compilers, but very rare—in fact a complete copy as yet remains unknown.

CONTENTS OF THE BHUTA DAMARA TANTRA.

1, Introduction giving an account of *Bhuta-Damara*, a goblin attendant of Siva; 2, maledictory incantations; 3, secret

worship of Sundarī, a mystic form of Durgā; 4, secret worship of *Pisachis*, or female imps, to bring them under subjugation; 5, secret worship of *Kātyāyanī*; 6, secret worship for the attainment of transcendental powers or siddhis; 7, secret worship of Kainkari; 8, secret worship of the Chaṭikas, the maid servants of Durgā; 9, ditto of Bhutinis or female devils; 10, ditto of Apsaras or the courtesans of Indra's heaven; 11, ditto of Yakshinis or female Yakshas, a form of demi-goddesses; 12, ditto of eight Nāginis; 13, ditto of Kinnaris (women with horse heads); 14, on passions of particular forms, 15, secret worship of Aparājita and other goddesses.

In the Rev. Mr. Beal's *Tripathaka* mention is made of a work of this name translated into Chinese.

Again *Sakti-Sangama* is also an original Tantra, including the whole circle of the Sakta cult and is said to have, originally, contained 60,000 slokas, divided into four parts, of which the first comprises twenty chapters, the second sixty-five, the third nineteen, and the fourth eleven chapters. But only some 300 folios have as yet been discovered.

Sarada-Tilaka (3,000 slokas) is a good specimen of a Tantric compilation. It is, we are told, of great reputation in Bengal.

CONTENTS OF SARADA TILAKA.

1, Vija or seed mantras of different divinities, that is mantras which are believed to be specially fruitful or efficacious; 2, different divinities and their appropriate Saktis; 3, 4, initiation in mystic mantras; 5, eighteen appropriate *sanskaras* or sacraments for neophytes; 6, caste; 7, forty-two letters of the alphabet and their magic powers; 8, worship with mystic mantras; 9 to 18, mantras and adoration of Jagaddhatri, Tvarita Devi, Durgā, Tripura, Gonesha, Chandrama, Viṣṇu, Nrisiṅha, Purushottama, Moḥesha; 19, mystic mantra for the attainment of every desirable object; 20, of Aghora; 21, Gayatrī as a mystic mantra and the mode of adoring with it; 22, mystic mantra of Atidurgā; 23, mystic mantra of Traiyambakā; 24, mystic diagrams; 25, various forms of Yoga meditation.

Having given two or three specimens of the contents of some of the larger Tantras, I shall now, following the wording of my definition, give specimens of smaller Tantras, dealing with only one, or two or three subjects each.

I have said that the Tantric or Sakta religion is ritualistic or ceremonial. Here are illustrations of what I mean. No. 1262 treats of certain mysterious rites to be performed when worshipping the Devi. 1263 gives the rules and mantras for the initiation of neophytes to the mysterious worship of the goddess Tripura-Sundarī. 1349 tells the time for initiation, the diagrams and rituals to be used, how the breath is to be regulated and what gesticulation is to be performed.

Tara-Tantra (1355) gives simply "the rituals for the worship of Tara;" while No. 1360 treats of nothing but the rituals for the worship of Tripura-Sundari. *Tantra-Raja* is "a comprehensive digest of Tantric rituals."

Omitting, in the meantime, our remarks on what we called the first aim of the Tantric religion, which might be more properly called the ultimate, we take up the second, the acquisition of supernatural powers and selfish ends, by the employment of very various means, some innocent and others far from innocent. We need not here again repeat them. Our quotations will make quite clear what we here mean.

The first Tantra in our catalogue—No. 1243, *Ankola-Kalpa*, is described as a collection of charms to be recited when taking medicines, with the view, of course, of making the medicines efficacious. The MS. is singular, not in the use of charms, but in the fact that while the *mantras* or charms proper are in Sanskrit (they would have no power in the vernacular) the directions for using them are in Hindi.

The next, No. 1244, can scarcely be regarded as innocent. It consists of rules for performing various rites, for subduing, injuring or killing enemies and making women complaisant. It is spoken of as *marana* and *mahana* or sympathetic magic, and includes practices at one time common all over the world. The following Tantra (No. 1245, *Asuri-Kalpa*) is of the same nature. It is "a collection of malevolent incantations," which Dr. Mitra describes as "fitly named demoniac rites," succeeded by an abridgement, stating how the incantations are to be recited, and what rites are to be performed with them. No. 1277 is also a collection of incantations, "whereby many malevolent designs can be carried out." No. 1279 introduces us to a new class of female victims, different from the women who are to be made complaisant. They are called "female imps." Dr. Mitra informs us that it treats of the "secret worship of Pisachis or female imps and how to bring them under subjugation." No. 1251 again changes the objects of the magical performance. Now it is "alchemic preparation of silver and of various mercurial compounds and salves of magic power." 1273 treats generally of "enchantment by means or incantations" and 1329 of "magic, incantations and legerdemain." There is one mode of working which Dr. Mitra tells us he put to the test, but with no effect, it is by a "lucky shell," the conch *Dakshinavartta*, so-called from its whirls turning from the right to the left side—apparently an ammonite. This shell, (Dr. Mitra was told) when kept at home was sure to bring great good fortune and immense wealth to the owner, with the result that fabulous prices are paid for it by rich Hindus. Dr. Mitra got one of the shells with no perceptible increase to his fortune.

Divination was largely practised by the Tantrikas. 1314 treats of divinations by means of the sounds of the clouds, crows, etc. 1342 treats of divination by dreams (oneiromancy) and of rites for overcoming the consequences of bad dreams. The letters of the alphabet were also used for the same purpose. (See number 1323.)

The power is generally said to reside in the proper mantras, properly recited. These powerful mantras are called Bija or Vija mantras; and a whole Tantra is devoted to the "derivation of the Vija mantras of Sakta divinities." It is said to mean etymologically *seed*, that which is sown, grows and bears fruit. The 1st chapter of *Sarada Tilaka* (1323), as we have seen, treats of Vija mantras of different divinities. 1291 is a collection of mystic mantras: 1292 is a compendium of the various mystic formulas and mantras used in worshipping Hindu divinities and the routine of worship. It is followed by a commentary on the above. The text of No. 1292 is by Mahidhara. It treats of Tantric rites and mystic formulæ. 1294 is a collection of mystic mantras, and is followed by another collection of mystic mantras.

Quite a number of Tantras, six in all, are taken up with what some of us are very familiar—the lighting of lamps in honour of some Tantric divinities. The divinities, thus honoured, each having a separate MS. to herself, are Mahavidya, Matangi, Bhuvaneshvari, Dhumavati, Tripura-Sundari and Vagalamukhi, all different forms of the one goddess Durga. No. 1368 treats of the offering of lamps to Vatuka-Bhairava, (a companion, not even a female, still less the consort, of Siva), who is often taken for Siva himself. He is worshipped when there is a serious case of illness in a house, or a sudden misfortune is apprehended.

The Saktas worship not only Durga in all her many different forms, but also as personified in all members of the female sex when purified by mantras, and even to females of the lower animals. Hence we find No. 1269 consists of directions for offering lighted lamps to Hanuman, the monkey. The worship is conducted in various ways—as for example, by diagrams, gesticulations, regulation of the breath, etc. No. 1327 is taken up with symbolical figures, diagrams and stories of Kali; 1335 contains directions for the worship of Devi in six mystic diagrams called *Shat-chakras*; 1349, the *Tantra-ratna*, among other things, treats of mystic diagrams, regulation of the breath, and gesticulation during worship; and 1371 dilates on the worship of various diagrams and symbolical figures called *Yantras*. The triangle, single or double, lying the one on the top of the other, are favourite ones with Saktas, as they were with European astrologers and

mystics in the Middle Ages, when they believed in Yantras and words of power. The two equal triangles, when lying the one on the other, forms a hexagon, and, with the sides produced till they meet, six other triangles equal to one another. (See the "Lay of St. Dunstan" in *Ingoldsby Legends*.)

Charms occupy a very prominent place in the Tantras and in the Sakta religion. We have seen above how charms were administered with the medicine to make the latter efficacious. Charms were largely used in amulets, as they are by very many still. No. 1264 consists simply of a charm bearing the name of *Ganesa*. It is intended to be worn in an amulet. 1276 is a charm containing the mystic mantra of *Kārtika*; 1302 bears the name *Paramahansa*. 1370 tells how to put on a similar amulet bearing the name of *Kali*;—it forms part of the Tantra called *Virabhadra*. We are informed in No. 1372 that *Vira* is one who can worship with spirituous liquors, a very common mode of worship.

Panchami Sadhana (No. 1301) is a description of a mystic rite so-called, by which certain transcendental powers may be acquired, and the essentials of which are wine, flesh-meat, fish, parched grains and women—the five M's called *Makars*. The text is an original Tantra, named *Bṛahmānda-Yamala*. The transcendental powers above named are known as *siddhis*.

Sakta-Krama supplies rules for the performance of the various rites and ceremonies enjoined in the Tantras for the adoration of Sakta divinities. It is followed by *Sakti-puja*, a compilation on the worship of Sakti; while *Siva-puja* is, of course, on the worship of Siva, according to the Aghora form. It is, as reported by Dr. Mitra on the authority of this Tantra, "performed at night, with wine, women and bestial rites." 1333 is an enquiry into the divinity of Siva and the rituals of his worship, while 1341 treats of the adoration of Svachchhanda Bhairava, a form of Siva, and 1343 supplies the rules for the worship of Syamā, a name for Durga, derived from a name of Siva. No. 1308 *Rudra-Paddhati* is on the worship of Siva; and 1322 gives directions for the summary worship of, Syama. 1344 contains the rituals for worshipping Syamā, 'the black goddess,' standing on the breast of her husband.

As stated above, the worship of Durga or Kali forms a leading characteristic of the religion of the Tantras. We find a large number of the 130 Tantras here reported on, devoted to the worship of her in one or other of her many forms. There is *Lalita* for example, 1286 is a liturgy for the worship of Lalita. 1287 supplies a description of the order in which Lalita should be worshipped. 1288 treats of the worship of Lalitā, and 1388 does the same, but under a different title.

Triputra-Sundari seems to be a still more popular form of

Durga. No. 1300 gives the rules for repeated recitation of a hymn, in which a 1000 epithets of T. S. are strung together; and 1316 supplies rules for offering lighted lamps to her. *Sundari Kalpa* is on the worship of Sundari, a form of Durga. 1358, a part of the *Tantra Gandharva*, contains a charm, bearing the name of T. S.; 1359 supplies rules for her adoration; and 1360, the rituals for the worship of T. S.; while 1366 treats of offering oblations on fire in honour of T. S.; and 1367 gives directions for worshipping her.

The form, Kali, does not seem to be so popular. We have seen that 1327 supplies symbolical figures; diagrams and stories on the glory of Kali. We have also seen that in No. 1370 that directions were given as to putting her name in an amulet, and Nos. 1271-2 treat of the mystic worship of Kali. But beyond these four instances, I do not remember meeting her name, 1252 treats of her worship under the name of Chandi; and 1254, 1255 supply rituals for the worship of her as Chhinnamasta, who decapitated herself and drank her own blood. And 1266 contains a hymn, in which are 108 of her epithets strung together.

Tara, another form of Durga, is referred to in 1351, which treats of *salvation* through the medium of her worship; 1352 is a compendium, in five chapters, of the principles of the Sakta faith and the rules to be observed in the worship of Tara. It is followed by a commentary on a Tantric work named *Tara-rahasya*; 1354 is a hymn to Tara; 1355 is filled with the rituals for the worship of Tara; and 1356 is "an essay on *salvation* through the medium of worship to Tara." 1363 treats of the worship of a form of the goddess Durga, named *Ugra Tara*; 1366 gives the rituals for the worship of Pranesvari, another form of Durga; while 1317 enjoins the dedication of lighted lamps to Vaglamukhi, also another form of Durga.

One of the most common names given to Durga is simply *Devi*, the goddess; hence we find Tantras like 1334—treating of the mystic worship of *the* Devi on particular specified nights, and 1335 gives directions for the worship of the Devi in six mystic diagrams, called *Shat Chakras*. The same Tantra contains a hymn to *Annapurna*, another name for *Devi*. It is followed by a Tantra on the mystic worship of the *Devi*. Yet another name, under which she goes, is *Subhagd*. Directions for her worship under this name will be found in No. 1337; and *Tantra Kaumudi* (1346) is a compilation of her worship in different forms. A ritual for her adoration as *Pitambara*, "the yellow-robed goddess", is in 1303; as *Sulini* in 1339; and as *Pranesvari* in 1306.

On the other hand, 1369 supplies the rules for the adoration

of Vagradini, or Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and daughter of Durga; and 1299 contains the rituals for the worship of Nila Sarasvatī.

Among the Saktis—the female divinities—must, we suppose, be placed the ‘mothers,’ and consequently we read among the 130 Tantras of His Highness’s Library, a Tantra entitled *Mātrikā-Pūjana* (No. 1297) in which we find the “Liturgy for the worship of the Matrikas, or the primitive mothers of creation.”

So far for the female divinities, the Saktis, of whom Durga, in her various forms, is not only the chief, but who, in her own person, constitutes almost the whole. We have, however, the popular goddess, Lakshmi, the bride or Sakti of Vishnu, and *Lakshmi-Tantra* (No. 1289) contains rituals for worshipping her.

Turning now to the male divinities and to the Tantras bearing on them, we find that both are very few in number and of no great importance in themselves. The Tantra of most importance among them is *Gautamiya Tantra* (No. 1265), which counts up 2,028 slokas in both the Bengali and Nagara characters, the one to be seen in Benares and the other in Bikāner. It is described by Dr. Mitra in these words:—

A Vaishnavite Tantra comprising, in 31 chapters, a complete system of rituals for the guidance of Vaishnavas, and the adoration of Krishna, in a variety of forms. The work is designed with a view to apply the rituals of Sakta worship with all its forms, mysteries and mummeries, to the cult of Krishna, and is always appealed to as a leading authority in all questions regarding rituals. It is held in high estimation by Vaishnava house-holders, but ascetics and more devout and ardent followers of Chaitanya do not implicitly carry out its ordinances.

CONTENTS OF THE GAUTAMIYA TANTRA.

1, Ten-syllabled mantra of Krishna; 2, derivation of that mantra; identification of the mantra with the deity; the mystic syllables of the mantra; the source of the universe; the mode of using the eighteen-syllable mantra of Krishna; the object of the mystic particles in the mantras; regulation of the breath; 3, mental assignment of the various parts of the body to different tutelary divinities; 4, description of Vrindāvana; the mode of meditating on Krishna; 5, characteristics of spiritual guides and neophytes, time meet for initiation; 6, altars; 7, initiation; daily prayers and adorations; 8, twelve forms of purifications; 9, purification and forms of worship, observances and rituals during worship; 10, adoration of Krishna through the medium of ammonite stones; 11, Homa or worship through fire; 12, offerings; 13, imparting of man-

tras to disciples ; 14, attainment of mastery over mantras ; 15, occasional forms of worship and rosaries ; 16, daily threefold worship ; 17, worship of Krishna in his infantile form ; 18, derivation and uses of various Vaishnava mantras ; 19, means of causing dementation ; mantras for female divinities ; 20, differences in the forms of adoration, and advantages of adoring Krishna under different forms ; 21, various mantras of Krishna ; 22, attainment of superhuman powers and various mantras ; 23, attainment of eloquence ; mantra, etc., of Rama ; 24—28, various mantras, etc. ; 29, characteristics of mastery over mantras ; 30, duties of persons accepting particular mantras ; 31, attainment of true knowledge ; praise of the Tantra.

Tantra-sar (No. 1350) is a work held in high estimation all over India, north and south, east, and west, and is very extensively quoted as a standard authority. We simply refer to it here as a summary of the Tantric cult, comprising mantras, diagrams and rituals for the adoration of the different Hindu divinities, both *Sakta* and *Vaishnava*. 1284 is also a Vaishnava Tantra, containing directions for worshipping Krishna, and 1280 supplies details regarding the secret mantras of Vaishnava deities.

1330 is a handbook of Vaishnava religious duties, diurnal periodical and optional, including the several feasts and fasts enjoined in the Vaishnava Calendar.

Ganesa, under the name Uchchhishtaganapati, has a MS. (1278) devoted to his worship—a part of a leading Tantra which is very scarce.

Kartavirya (Nos. 1274-75) is worshipped by the dedication of lighted lamps to him eight months in the year, as stated, and a manual for his worship as found in No. 1275. He is elsewhere described as a monster with a thousand arms, and as a great king, the same upon whom the Jains look with great respect as a universal monarch of great sanctity. He is said to have invaded Lanka and taken Ravana prisoner, and yet to have been killed by Parasurama.

We have just seen that there are both Sakta and Vaishnava Tantras, and others mixed. The *Mantra Mahodadhi*, 1292, is a compendium of the various mystic formulas and mantras used in worshipping Hindu divinities ; it contains the routine of worship. The MS. is by Mahidhara, the commentator of the white Yajur Veda. What adds a good deal of interest to the volume is that while the mantras are all taken from the Tantras, the ritual throughout is Tantric, with a leaning for the Sakta cult, yet the mantras of Vishnu, Ganesa, Gopal, etc., are all included in the work.

The *Uddisa Tantra* (496 slokas, No. 1362) treats of sorcery of different kinds. Its *contents* are : Incantations and necromantic

rites for bringing on the death of an enemy ; ditto for bringing on dementation ; ditto for bringing on inertness in intelligence, arms, affection, men, clouds, winds, etc. ; ditto for bringing on enmity between particular individuals ; for bringing on the ruin of a person ; for securing the good-will and favour of a king, a husband or a woman ; for attracting attention ; for effecting magical exhibitions for bringing demons under one's control ; for performing alchemical preparations ; for ascertaining the past and the future ; for digesting enormous quantities of food ; for overcoming hunger and thirst ; for producing aphrodisiac effects ; for changing the colour of grey hair ; for bringing on devilish levers, grey hair or baldness ; for finding out hidden treasures ; for bringing on pregnancy ; for preventing abortion, miscarriage, and childlessness ; for bringing success in warfare ; for aphrodisiac medicines ; for alchemical solutions of metals ; for the destruction of manliness ; for overcoming malevolent imps ; for overcoming evils likely to result from ferocious animals ; for inviting serpents to an enemy's house ; for preventing mischief from evil dreams and portents. The work is divided into eleven chapters. •

Manuals, digests and commentaries abound. There are as many as five different MSS. 1256 to 1262 inclusive, all manuals for the daily worship of Dakshina Kalika alone. Commentaries also abound ; three on *Sarada-Tilaka*, 1324 to 1326 ; one on *Tantra-raja*, another on *Tara-rahasya*, and yet another on *Yogini-Hridaya*, and so on.

There are treatises on medicines as e.g. No. 1315, which describes the symptoms and treatment of various kinds of fever ; and one on astrology, e.g. No. 1253, which is described by Dr. Mitra as an astrological miscellany, compiled from various works, but principally from the following five Tantras, viz., Rudra-Yamala, Brahma-Yamala, Vishnu-Yamala, Umā-Yamala and Budha-Yamala, as also Adi-Chudamani, a work said to have been compiled by the chief of the Jainas, that is, Jina himself. It contains directions for, and the mode of divining the past, the present and the future ; loss, gain, and success in warfare ; accidental death ; attainments of wealth ; human thoughts ; the contents of a closed fist ; hidden property ; empty receptacles ; the names of thieves and those of their villages ; figures and dates ; assaults on forts ; famine ; the measure of rain during the rainy season ; overthrow of kings ; revolutions ; the best sites for tanks, wells, fountains and gardens ; the locale of fish ; merits of horses, elephants, and other animals ; trade, sale and purchase ; the councils of kings ; the transition to heaven or hell after death ; in short, all and everything that exists in the three regions of the universe, and that occur among men, gods and Titans.

One of the Tantras referred to in the above is *Rudra-Yamala*, No. 1309, an elaborate and original Tantra, including the whole range of Sakta knowledge about religion, social orders, castes, sacred places, modes of adoration, forms of ceremonies, etc., etc.

In conclusion the library has Tantras on such subjects as sin, salvation, expiation, yoga, dogma, the Guru and his disciples, as well as the principles of the Sakta religion taken generally.

In No. 1307 we read of a fast named *Purascharana*, whereby one's sins may be expiated ; in No. 1323 we have seen the various forms of yoga meditation with a view to ultimate union with the Supreme. No. 1305 is a compilation of the principal dogmas inculcated in the Tantras ; and 1352 is a compendium, in five chapters, of the principles of the Sakta faith ; and, as we have seen above, No. 1323 contains eighteen appropriate *sanskaras* or sacraments for neophytes ; while 1312 treats of the *guru* or spiritual guide and the means of obtaining blessings from his feet. The institution of the *guru* originated with the Saktas, and there is no limit to the praise bestowed on it and him in the Tantras. In the *Yogini Tantra* (1372) we read : " This S'â-tra has the *guru* for its root ; this world has the *guru* for its root ; the *guru* indeed is the highest Brahma ; the *guru* indeed is Siva himself. Even the gods bow before him to whom the *guru* is subject. Nay, should anyone drink the water for washing his feet, dropping from a sore, considering it as *amrita* ambrosia), he will go to the city of Devi. The *guru* is the way, the *guru* is Deva. The Guru is Devi too. He moves in the spheres of heaven, mortals and Nagas. The holy water of a guru's foot is equal to bathing at all Tirthas or sacred pools. All the fruit a mortal may acquire in bathing at all Tirthas, that fruit he may acquire from a drop of the water of the *guru's* feet. . . The man who carries the *guru's* dust on his head, is emancipated from all sins, is Siva without doubt."

A little further on in the same Tantra, emancipation is attributed to a son being born to a man. Then, the father, " having attained the place of emancipation, rests for ever."

K. S. MACDONALD.

ART. VII.—A TRAVANCORE MAGICIAN.

TALES of the marvellous and the supernatural, be they wild or gruesome, possess an element of interest to the ethnologist, because of the light they throw on the dark places of the native mind. They afford piquant illustrations of the belief in evil spirits, and of the practices connected with witchcraft and sorcery, spells and love-potions, charms and incantations—practices which survive among the non-Aryan jungle-folk of Southern India. The Hindu *puranas* tell us that five thousand years of the degenerate Kali age have now rolled by, and Kali, or the spirit of evil, has now attained his zenith. But centuries ago, when his malign influence was not so visibly felt as it is now, arts of magic and necromancy were not only looked upon as practicable, but assiduously cultivated. When Kerala was under the sway of the Chola viceroys or Perumals, magic, like astrology, was recognized as one of the chief sciences, and afforded honourable and lucrative occupation to its votaries. But “the tune of the time” has changed since.

Of the many *mantravadies* or magicians who flourished at that epoch, Surya Kalati Bhattathiri was the most distinguished. Like old Merlin, the Mage at Arthur’s Court, he was the most famous man of the time, and a past-master in Gramarye. As a forceful personality who carried on a war of extermination against the powers of the unseen world, he is celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Kerala. He sits enthroned in the midst of his court like a king. His claim to be considered *facile princeps* of Malayala *mantravadies*, contemporaneous or other, is not disputed; but rests upon scores of performances which might be cited as instances of magical skill at their highest and best: performances beside which those of Michael Scott or Merlin are a mere trifle. It is not exactly related of him—

“That when in Salamanca’s cave,
Him listed his magic wand to wave
The bells would ring in Notre Dame;”

or that he could put forth “the charm of woven paces and of waving hands:” for all that, in his day, he was known to fame as a potent and courageous practitioner of the art having no match or rival, and now shines firmly set among the fixed stars of the *mantravadie*’s heaven.

Surya Kalati was born in the village of Kumarnallore in Kottayam, North Travancore. He came of a good and ancient Nambudri family, the scions of which are, to this day,

venerated for their meek piety and saintliness. The present head of the *illom* or family is an honoured guest at the Court of Travancore, his presence there being indispensable on certain state occasions. There is a weird and popular tradition which records the tragic end of Bhattathiri, senior—a circumstance which tended, as it were, to preordain the career of his posthumous son. For, it was, surely, not overweening ambition that stirred the imagination of Bhattathiri *filis* and in the crimson flush of the earliest summer of life, urged him on to the study of the Black Art. One night (so runs the story) the Bhattathiri and a friend of his happened to pass along the *yakshee paramba* in Trichur. It was—in those days—a dreary bit of open wasteland, strangely contrasting with the quaint picturesqueness of the surrounding country side; its grim sullenness only partially relieved, here and there, by rows of tall, dark-coloured *karimpanas* or palms, silhouetted against the sky like a colonnade of granite pillars: each carved stem set in its leafy crown and base, and its green-gray fronds swaying in the gentle zephyr. To this day, people avoid this place at night; it being, according to popular superstition, the favourite resort of *yakshees* and their lovers, the *gandharvas*, (the celestial nymphs and centaurs of Hindu mythology). The former are a sort of dryads or fairies. They roam about at nights in the guise of impossible young women, whose witching beauty is overpowering to frail mortal eyes. They are tall, *champaka*-coloured, with flashy eyes, glistening teeth, and an opulent mass of dark raven tresses that hang down to the ground. They rarely venture abroad after dawn. All day long, they hide in grassy glade or wattled woodland, assuming eerie enchanted forms. At night, they lurk in trees or pathways and attract travellers. But to falter or turn behind, or answer their call, spells death. The *gandharvas*—Southey's 'Glendoveers'—are a species of demons or demigods. They are the musicians of heaven, and like the *rishis* or sages, are gifted with the power of denouncing imprecations on mortals.

But to return to our story. The night is far advanced when the Bhattathiri and his friend approach the solitary and cheerless expanse, beloved of fairy folk, above described, and bethink them of seeking shelter for the night, of the first passer-by. Suddenly, they find two damsels coming towards them, mystical paragons of beauty, who accost them, explain that they are returning after the *pooram* or annual festival then going on at a neighbouring temple, and with exceeding grace and naivete, press them to pass the night under their roof. The travellers gratefully accept the proffered invitation, and accompany the fair strangers homeward.

Like children at the heels of the mad piper they follow them and tread the primrose path of dalliance—beckoned to by their sinister grace and sly voluptuous enticements. Presently they arrive in a magnificent house, are hospitably received and lodged in exquisitely-furnished separate chambers. Then the tragedy begins. The travellers, careless and unsuspect, have all but closed their eyelids in sleep, when the harrowing truth is on them! The fair women are *yakshees*, and they have resumed their demoniacal forms! The grim irony of the situation makes their flesh creep. One of the *yakshees*—her unearthly figure “unhidden by any earthly disguise”—now approaches the Bhattathiri, and rapidly makes a meal of him. Like the student who dances with the goddess in “Rosa Alchemica,” he experiences a chill sensation—of the fairy “drinking up his soul” (and life-blood) “as an ox drinks up a wayside pool.” But the other *yakshree* can do no harm to the Bhattathiri’s companion, for he holds in his hand a *grandha* or palm-leaf book sacred to Bhagavati (*viz.*, the *Devi Mahatmya*, or narrative of the exploits of Devi or Bhagavati). This blessed preservative he religiously clings to and frantically clutches, as through the slow-moving hours of the night he hears a hideous din—the rattling and crunching of human bones. But imagine his feelings at day-break on finding himself resting on the topmost frond of a palm-tree, and cruellest cut of all—the bones of his friend lying scattered underneath another palm-tree yonder.

Soon after, the Bhattathiri’s widow gave birth to a son, the subject of this sketch. When the latter was eleven years of age, she related to him the strange story of his father’s death. This so inflamed the young hopeful that he vowed eternal revenge on the whole host of *yakshees* and *gandharvas*. And like a sensible boy, he set about preparation for his life-task. As a *brahmacharia* he prosecuted the study of the Vedas with diligence, and by the time he came to man’s estate was an adept in Shastraic lore and all manner of learning. Then he betook himself to a lonely forest and did incessant *tapa* (penance) there, for a period of seven years. We may well conceive of a study of revenge overtaking and overriding his beautiful and unambitious soul—who might else have pursued the noiseless tenor of his way, and avoided those wastes over which magicians wander lost and die damned—now driving him like a goad to wrest a moral victory from an almost impossible situation, but in the hour of victory, hurling him in the drag of a current which in its wake sweeps him on to the brink of eternal ruin. Moved by the rigour of the austerities practised by, and pleased with the assiduity and devotion of young Kalati, Surya, the sun-god.

now appeared before him in human form and handed him a *grandha* or magic-book, which is to this day the greatest work extant on magic. The marked favour of the sun-god explains the prefix "Surya" to the magician's name. Thus dawned "the hour for which the years did sigh."

To master the contents of the *grandha* was the work of a few days. Surya Bhattathiri put it to such very good use that he soon acquired the just reputation of being the most expert *mantravadi* (or dealer of magic) of the time. Princes now courted his favour and none dared offend him. The next phase was the commencement of a mighty *homa* (or burnt sacrifice) with the avowed object of destroying the magician's sworn enemies, all manner of living things—frogs, lizards, scorpions and myriads of ants—being thrown in the holocaust. The fierceness and severity of the magical rite and the power of the incantations produce the desired effect. *Yakshee* after *yakshee* is compelled to pass in procession before him, and last, but not least, the *yakshee* who had devoured his father. She begs hard for mercy, offering to serve him faithfully. But he would have none of her and makes her enter the sacrificial fire, and she is consumed. Then her *gandharva* lover, mortified at the loss of his beloved, turns up, most inconveniently, and curses the Brahmin magician to suffer death on the forty-first following day. The tables are turned, the biter bit. The magician in his turn sues for mercy and the *gandharva*, more merciful than the Brahmin had been to the *yakshee*, extends it to him. On one condition, however, that on the forty-first day he would worship at the Alangat Tiruvalore temple in expiation. Naturally, he goes to fulfil it and preparatory to worshipping, descends into the temple tank to bathe. All at once he is seized with delirium and raves like a maniac, biting the wooden beams of the bathing shed. He dies after enduring frightful agonies. The marks of his teeth are to be seen to this day!

The story of Surya Kalati Bhattathiri points to an obvious moral—namely, that only evil would result from the study and practice of the Black Art. Such old-world tales possess the great charm, that in them we discover for ourselves an inner meaning and import of life. We irresistibly feel that the Bhattathiri's life spells failure, that his wonderful powers, though they converged to one focus so as to impress us with his personality, did not somehow work smoothly together. As in Merlin's case, so in his, we see the strange story repeated :—

" Death in all life and lying in all love,
The meanest having power upon the highest,
And the high purpose broken by the worm."

with this difference, that whereas the former comes to lie in the hollow oak—"lost to life and use and name and fame," the latter is not forgotten: for his voice, though hushed in the silence of the funeral pyre, yet speaketh with most miraculous organ.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

ART. VIII.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLD SADAR AND SUPREME COURTS TOGETHER
WITH NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES, BARRISTERS AND VARIOUS.

CHAPTER I.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nisamat Adalat.

THE battle of Plassey marks the commencement of an important epoch in the history of India. It gave the death blow to Moslem rule, thereby virtually transferring the overlordship of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the English. But the formal transfer did not take place until the grant of the Diwani to the East India Company in 1765. This grant, which was the immediate consequence of the battle of Buxar, was made by the Emperor* of Delhi, who, though in reality deprived of all sovereign power, was in time-honored deference to a great name still looked upon as the Lord Paramount. The *Farman*, under which the transfer was made, runs as follows:—
“We have granted them the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa † from the beginning of the Fasli-rahii (spring harvest) of the Bengal year 1172 as a free gift and *Altamgha* ‡ without the association of any other persons and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Diwani, which used to be paid to the Court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula Bahadur, and regularly remit the same to the Sarkar (Government); and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, we have granted them whatsoever may remain out of the revenue of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the royal Sarkar and providing

* Shah Alum II, by whom the grant was made, “never possessed,” as Mill truly says, “a sufficient degree of power to consider himself for one moment as master of the throne.” He was, in fact, till his death, a mere puppet in the hands of whatever power had the ascendancy for the time. With him, if not with his father Alumgir II, the Mogul sovereignty must be considered to have finally terminated.

† Cuttack having been ceded by Nawab Ali Verdi Khan to the Marhattas, only a portion of Orissa, therefore, was actually included in the Diwani grant. It was not till 1805 that that district came into the possession of the English. By Regulation xiv of that year the district of Cuttack was included in the jurisdiction of the Provincial Court of Calcutta, and was placed under the control and superintendence of the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

‡ “Altamgha (from the Turkish *al*, red, and *tamgha*, a stamp or impression), a royal grant under the seal of some of the former native princes of Hindustan, and recognised by the British Government as conferring a title to rent-free land in perpetuity, hereditary and transferable” (Wilcox).

for the expenses of the Nizamat.* In its common acceptance the term "Diwani" is limited to the collection of revenue and the administration of justice in civil cases†. But the *Farman* which granted the Diwani to the East India Company, gave larger powers. From the fact of the said Company having been empowered "to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces," it is abundantly clear that they were authorized to undertake the military defence of the country‡ to exercise military power, and so to assume one of the most important prerogatives of sovereignty. Thus it appears that the grant of the Diwani was a cession to the East India Company of the military government of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, of the right to administer civil justice, and of the complete control of the finances, subject to the payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, and to providing for the expenses of administering criminal justice, and the maintenance of the police. It was in point of fact, though not in name, a cession of sovereign power over those provinces, seeing that it was a cession of all the essentials which constitute such power. The *Farman* aforesaid was accompanied by an imperial confirmation of all the territories previously held by the said Company under grants from Nawabs Mir Kasim and Mir Jafir, within the nominal limits of the empire of the Great Mogul. The Nizamat,§ or administration of criminal justice and police, was, at the same time, conferred upon the Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula. The Diwani grant was recognized by an agreement, dated the 30th of September in the same year, by the Nawab,|| who formally accepted his dependent position by consenting to receive a fixed stipend of fifty-three lakhs of rupees for the

* Aitchison's Treaties, etc. Vol. i, p. 61.

† See Harrington's Analysis, Vol. ii, p. 25.

‡ It is worthy of notice that in February, 1765, that is, nearly six months previous to the Diwani grant, Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula had entered into a treaty with the East India Company, enabling them to exercise his authority. Sir James Stephen's *Nizam Comar and Impey*, Vol. i, p. 40, note. This was probably the "new treaty" spoken of by Mr. Aitchison as having been concluded between Nazm-ud-Daula and the Company by which the latter took the military defence entirely into their own hands, and among other conditions the Nawab bound himself to appoint, by the advice of the Governor and Council, a Deputy to conduct the Government, who should not be removable without their consent.—Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. i, p. 4.

§ Under the Mohamedan Government, the *Nazim*, from which term the word *Nizamat* is derived, was the chief Officer charged with the administration of Criminal Law and the Police, as the Diwan was charged with the administration of Civil Law and the collection of revenue. The term *Nizamat* denoted the office and duties of the Nazim. The provincial Governor, commonly called *Subadar* in his capacity of Nazim, was styled the Nawab Nazim, that is, the Deputy of the Emperor's Nazim.

|| Nazm-ud-Daula succeeded his father, Mir Jafir, in January 1765, and was himself succeeded on 8th May, 1766, by his brother, Saif-ud-Daula, a youth of sixteen. Aitchison's Treaties p. 4. Thus it appears that the recognition was made by the former Nawab, and not, as is said, by the latter.

support of the Nizamat, and for the maintenance of his household and his personal expenses.

In the following year, Lord Clive, the President of the Council of Fort William, took his place as Dewan, or collector of revenue for the Mogul; and in concert with the Nawab, who sat as Nazim, opened the *punneh*, or ceremonial of commencing the annual collections in the Darbar, held at Motijheel near Moorshedabad. From this time the functions of Nazim as well as of Dewan were ostensibly exercised by the British Government; the latter, in virtue of the grant from the Emperor, and the former, through the influence possessed over the Naib or Deputy, the Nawab Nazim himself having submitted to become virtually a pensioner of the State.

But though the civil and military power of the country and the resources for maintaining it were assumed on the part of the East India Company, still it was not thought advisable either by the local Government, or by the Court of Directors, to vest the immediate management of the revenue, or the administration of civil and criminal justice, in the European officers. It may, indeed, appear doubtful whether the European servants, with a few brilliant exceptions, possessed at this time sufficient knowledge of the civil institutions and the internal arrangements of the country, to qualify them for the trusts. In these circumstances the administration of the provinces included in the Diwani grant was left, and that very wisely, in the charge of native agency; and two tried officers of acknowledged merit and ability were entrusted with the Government of Bengal and Behar, respectively, an imperfect control being exercised over the former by the Resident at the Nawab's Court at Moorshedabad, and over the latter by the Chief of Patna. The one was Mahomed Reza Khan,* a Persian nobleman, "able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them;" the other was Raja Shital Roy,† a high caste Hindu whose valour and attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. The zemindari lands of Calcutta, and the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, as well as the Twenty-four Parganas, which had been ceded to the East India Company by previous grants from the Nawabs Mir Kasim and Mir Jafir, and which had been, as stated above, confirmed to them by the Emperor's *Farman* in August 1765, had been placed under the management of the Covenanted Servants of the Company.‡

* Mahomed Reza Khan with his co-adjutors, Raja Booluoram and Jagut Sett, had been appointed before the Diwani grant, to conduct the public affairs under Nawab Nazim-ud-Daula. Resolution of the Resident in Council, dated 21st June 1765.

† Shital Roy's gallantry at Patna was very highly praised by Captain Knox.

‡ *Vide* the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated the 28th of July, 1812, quoted in Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. II, pp 2-3, note

In the year 1769, when Verelst the Good was Governor of Bengal, supervisors were appointed for the superintendence of the native officers ; and they were furnished with detailed instructions* which were issued to them in the form of a letter from the Resident at the Durbar (Mr. Becher), and which gave them ample powers to inquire into the history, existing state, produce and capacity of the provinces, the amount of the revenues, the regulations of commerce, and the administration of justice ; they were likewise directed to make reports thereon to the Resident at Moorshedabad and the Chief of Patna.

These inquiries furnished ample evidence of abuses of every kind. Extortion and oppression on the part of the public officers, and fraud and evasion of the payment of just dues on the part of the cultivators prevailed throughout the provinces ; and with respect to the administration of justice it was remarked in a letter from the President in Council at Fort William, that " the regular course was everywhere suspended ; but every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decision."† The appointment of supervisors was followed in 1770,‡ by the institution of two superior Councils§ of revenue at Moorshedabad and Patna, to superintend the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue and to exercise the powers before vested in the Resident and the Chief. But this arrangement does not appear to have been successful. The improvement of the public revenue, which might have been expected from it, was indeed frustrated in a material degree by a dreadful famine which was computed to have swept away a third of the population of Bengal.||

The glaring abuses referred to above, continued for seven years unremedied ; and it was not till the year 1772, when, in consequence of the determination of the Court of Directors ¶ " to stand forth as Diwan, and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and

* Governor Verelst in his instructions to the Supervisors, observes :—" It is difficult to determine whether the original customs, or the degenerate manners of the Mussalmans have most contributed to confound the principles of right and wrong in these provinces. Certain it is that almost every decision of theirs is a corrupt bargain with the highest bidders."

† Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, p. 5.

‡ In this year Nawab Saif-ud-Daula was succeeded by his brother Mubarak-ud-Daula, with whom an engagement was made whereby the Nawab Na'im's stipend was fixed at 31,81,991. rupees. This is the last treaty which was formed with the Nawab Nazim. In 1772 the stipend was reduced to sixteen lakhs a year, at which rate it continued to be paid down to 1880. (Aitchison's Treaties, pp. 4-5.)

§ These Councils were subordinate to the Supreme Council at the Presidency.

|| Harington's Analysis, Vol. ii, p. 6. Macaulay has given a graphic description of this "fell Famine," in his well-known Essay on Lord Clive ; so has Hunter in his popular "Annals of Rural Bengal."

¶ See their letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 28th August 1771.

management of the revenues,"* the office of Naib Diwan was abolished. that the efficient administration of the internal Government of those provinces was committed to British agency. A proclamation was issued on the 11th May, 1772, notifying the removal of Mahomed Reza Khan from his office of Naib Diwan, and entrusting the Chief and Council of revenue at Moorshedabad, for the present, with the duties of the office. A similar proclamation was issued at Patna, removing Raja Shitah Roy† from the office of Naib Diwan in the province of Behar, and placing the immediate charge thereof under the Chief and Council of Patna, until a plan could be formed for the future management of the business thereof.‡ Warren Hastings, who had already acquired a considerable reputation by his talents, and who had served with great credit both in Bengal and Madras, was now Governor, he having been appointed to that important office in the preceding year. No time was lost in adopting measures to correct abuses, in providing against undue exactions, and in making such arrangements as circumstances admitted, for a more regular distribution of justice. The Court of Directors appointed a Committee for the purpose, consisting of the Governor and four members of the Supreme Council.§ The Committee, headed as it was by Hastings, digested a plan for the more effective collection of the revenue and the administration of justice. This plan || which bears witness throughout to the soundness of the views entertained by that illustrious statesman, consisted of rules which were stated to have been framed with a view to adapt them "to the manners and understandings of the people and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to their ancient usages and institutions,"¶ and although the constitu-

* So far back as 1761 Mr. Holwell had advised the Calcutta Council to adopt some such decisive policy, but Clive who then guided its deliberations, did not think it advisable to act upon his advice. Holwell's bold words were:—"We have nibbled at these provinces for eight years, and notwithstanding the immense acquisitions of territory and revenue, what benefit has resulted from our success to the Company? Shall we go on nibbling and nibbling at the bait until the trap falls and crushes us? Let us boldly dare to be Sobahs ourselves."

† Both Shitah Roy and Mahomed Reza were tried for misconduct in the discharge of their duties. The former, who was a very honest and upright man, was in no time acquitted with honour. The innocence of Reza Khan was not so clearly established, his accuser being the notorious Nund Coomar. But as Hastings, before whom the trial took place, was not disposed to deal harshly, he after a long hearing, pronounced that the charges had not been made out, and accordingly, ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

‡ Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. ii, pp. 11, 12.

§ The Council itself, as it stood before the Regulating Act, consisted of an indeterminate number of members, usually about twelve, many of whom held other offices than that of Councilor both at Calcutta and in the various inland factories. It was a loosely constituted, ill-organized body. Stephen's *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. i, p. 14.

|| Adopted by Government on 21st August 1772.

¶ Proceedings of the Governor and Council at Fort William respecting the administration of justice amongst the natives of Bengal, p. 4, 4to, London, 1774. The impossibility of introducing English laws, as the general standard of judicial decision in

tion of the Courts was shortly afterwards completely altered, many of the rules which it contained were, and are still, preserved in what is called the Bengal Code of Regulations.

In pursuance of the plan of the Committee, the Exchequer and the Treasury were removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, and a "Board of Revenue," as it was styled, consisting of the Governor and Council, with an establishment of native officers, was constituted at the Presidency, for the management, not only of the collections, but many of the most important duties of the municipal government. The supervisors appointed under Verelst's system, became "Collectors," one of whom presided over each considerable district, assisted by a native officer called Diwan* and the lands were leased to the highest bidder who could produce the requisite security for rent, for a period of five years. In each Collectorate or provincial division was established a *Diwani* or Civil Court for the administration of civil justice, which was presided over by the Collector on the part of the Company as Diwan, attended by the provincial Diwan and other officers of the Collector's Court. This Court took cognizance of "all disputes concerning property, real or personal, all cases of inheritance, marriage, and caste, all claims of debt, disputed accounts, contracts, and demands of rent," excepting, however, questions relating to the succession to zemindari and talookdari property, which were reserved for the decision of the President and Council. A *Fouzdari*, or Criminal Court, was also established in each district, for the trial of "murder, robbery and theft, and all other felonies, forgery, perjury, and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery, and every other breach of the peace or violent invasion of property." The *Kazi* and *Mufri* of the district and two Moulvies sat in the *Fouzdari* or Criminal Court to expound the Mahomedan law and to determine how far accused persons were guilty of its violation; but it was also provided that the Collector should attend to the proceedings, and see that the decision was passed in a fair and impartial manner according to the proofs exhibited. Two Superior Courts, that is, Courts of the last resort, were established at the chief seat of Government to be called the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat; the former

these provinces, without violating the fundamental principle of all civil laws,—that they ought to be, as Vattel says, "suitable to the genius of the people and to all the circumstances in which they may be placed,"—has been duly stated by Mr. Verelst, whose local knowledge and spotless character entitles his opinion to respect. His sentiments are also supported by those of Sir John Shore who, a perfect acquaintance with the inhabitants of India, added to his high and well-merited reputation, his eminent public and private virtues, must ever give weight to his deliberate suggestion, that "the grand object of our Government in this country should be to conciliate the minds of the natives by allowing them the free enjoyment of all their prejudices, and by securing to them their rights and property." See India Papers, Vol. v, 1787.

* Afterwards called Sheristadar.

to be presided over by the President and the Members of Council, assisted by the native officers of the Khalsa or Exchequer, and to be a Court of Appeal * in all cases where the amount in dispute exceeded 500 rupees, and the latter † to be presided over by a chief officer of justice, to be called the *Darogah-i-Adalat* on the part of the Nawab Nazim, assisted by the Head *Kazi* and *Mufti* and three eminent Moulvies, with a similar control to be exercised by the Chief and Council, with respect to the proceedings of the Court, as was vested in the Collectors of Districts. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was to revise and confirm the proceedings of the Fouzdari Courts in cases involving fines exceeding 100 rupees, and in capital cases to prepare the sentence for the warrant of the Nazim. Their proceedings were subject to the control of the President and Council, so as to ensure regularity and impartiality.

One of the leading features of this plan was, that in the Civil Courts Mahomedans and Hindus were entitled to the benefit of their own laws in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages and institutions. ‡ In criminal matters, however, the penal system of the Mahomedans which had guided the administration of criminal justice in Bengal for more than two centuries, was allowed to have its sway both over Mahomedans and Hindus. Indeed, the Hindu Criminal Code so long exploded, was but ill adapted to the actual state of society; and the Hindoos as well as Mahomedans had become accustomed to, and acquainted with, the ordinances of Mahomet, “ however defective and irrational,

* It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the Sadar Diwani Adalat is *merely* a Court of Appeal. No one could be a better authority on the subject than Hastings who was the framer of the system under which that Court was established. In a masterly minute recorded on the 29th September, 1780, he expressed himself most clearly on the matter. After premising that the Sadar Diwani Adalat “ has been commonly, but erroneously understood to be simply a Court of Appeals,” he goes on to say: “ Its province is, and necessarily must be, more extensive. It is not only to receive appeals from the decrees of the inferior courts in all causes exceeding a certain amount but to receive and revise all proceedings of the inferior courts, to attend to their conduct, to remedy their defects, and generally to form such new regulations and checks as experience shall prove to be necessary to the purpose of their institution.” In view of these multifarious duties of the court, which it was simply impossible for the Supreme Council to perform, even if it were to devote half of its time to this department, he proposed that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who had not much to do, should be appointed also to preside at the Sadar Diwani Adalat. This was, no doubt, a wise proposal, but such was the spirit of the times that the appointment, so far from being approved of, proved a fruitful source of trouble both to Hastings and Impey. *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol ii, pp. 225, 226, 233.

† The Nizamat Adalat, or the Supreme Court of Criminal Justice, was sub-divided into the Roz-adalat, or Court held on a Sunday by the Nazim for the trial of capital offenders, and the Adalat ul-Aliyat, the High Court in which affrays, quarrels, cases regarding personal property were tried; this was usually presided over by Nizam’s Deputy, or Darogah. See Glossary appended to Morley’s *Administration of Justice in British India*.

‡ Sir William Blackstone says very truly: “ In conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the King may, indeed, alter or change those laws; but till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the laws of God.”

however much opposed to those principles of law, which respect alike the rights of the individual and the interests of the Community.”*

Such is the outline of the system first proposed by Warren Hastings, a system unavoidably imperfect, from the limited knowledge possessed at that period by the English, of the habits and character of the natives, and indeed, of almost all that was requisite for rendering it effectual, but which must, at the same time, excite our admiration, considering how sound and solid a foundation it laid for future statesmen to build on. The Committee of the House of Commons, in the celebrated Fifth Report, speaking of the Revenue and Judicial Regulations which were made under this system, observe, that they evince “a diligence of research and a desire to improve the condition of the inhabitants by abolishing many injurious practices which had prevailed under the native Government; and thus the first important step was made towards those principles of equitable Government which, it is presumed the Directors always had it in view to establish, and which, in subsequent institutions, have been more successfully accomplished.”†

Soon after the adoption of this plan by Government, the Regulating Act of 1773 (13 Geo. III, c. 63) was passed; but this Statute, notwithstanding its pretentious title, so far from mending matters, made them worse still. It provided for the political administration of India by the appointment of a Governor-General and Council, and for its judicial administration by the establishment of a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. But the respective powers of the Court and the Council were so ill defined that it was not long before they were at terrible feuds with one another. Something like a reign of terror began, and the country lost the little peace it had been enjoying for some short time.

The year 1774 ‡ was certainly not a year of unrest for Bengal, but it was a calm of that portentous character which precedes a dreadful storm. In that year an alteration took place in the constitution of the Mofussil Diwani Courts by the recall of the Collectors and the appointment of six Provincial Councils of Revenue for the respective divisions of Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Moorshedabad, Dinajpur and Patna. The administration of civil justice was transferred from the European Collectors to the Native Amils, from

* F. L. Beaufort's *Digest of the Criminal Law of Bengal*, p. 1, 2nd Ed. 1857. For an enumeration of the Criminal Courts which existed at the Capital during Moslem rule, see page 4 of the same work.

† Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, p. 6.*

‡ The Supreme Court Judges arrived in November, but they had not commenced their sittings in that year, nor had Francis and Clavering shown their open hostility to Hastings.

whose decisions an appeal lay in every case to the Provincial Councils, and thence, under certain restrictions, to the Governor-General and Council as the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Mr. Hastings, to whom the superintendence of the administration of criminal justice had been particularly entrusted by the Government, now found this duty too onerous, and, therefore, relinquished it. Accordingly, in October 1775* the Nizamat Adalat was moved back from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and Mohammed Reza Khan was, on the recommendation of the Governor-General and Council, appointed to the office of Naib Nazim; and Foudjars were appointed in the several districts for apprehending and bringing to trial all offenders against the public peace,† dacoity, or gang-robbery having by this time become very common. The administration of criminal justice was, it is true, still conducted in the name of the Nawab Nazim and by his officers; but the Company's Government effectually controlled and directed all its details, as would appear from the instructions given to Mohammed Reza Khan and the sanction accorded to arrangements proposed by him.

These arrangements for the administration of justice remained in force, with scarcely any change till March 1780.‡ The famous Patna cause having exposed the flagrant abuses and irregularities which existed in the Provincial Councils, Hastings deemed it necessary to do something in the direction of bettering the position of affairs, and the Supreme Council, accordingly, adopted a new plan for the arrangement of the business of those Councils. It was divided into two parts—

* From some months before, the Supreme Court Judges had fallen out with the Governor-General, and the consequence was that the Sadar Diwani Adalat was practically abolished. In a minute recorded on the 11th April, 1775 the majority of the Council say: "The Council have for some months past declined taking cognizance of appeals in the apprehension that the legality of their jurisdiction might be disputed by the Supreme Court." Impey also refers to this fact and says that the Sadar Diwani Adalat was abolished or discontinued, and that the Governor-General and Council never sat in that Court since 1775 *Nund Coomar and Impey* Vol ii, p. 181, and note. This sad state of things seems to have continued till the close of 1779.

† Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, p. 6. In that Report, the establishment of Foudjars and Thanadars is stated to have taken place in 1774.

‡ Indeed, during the whole intervening period, the country was in a very disturbed state owing to the fierce quarrel which raged so very violently between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council. The dissention came to a head in the beginning of the year 1780. Both parties were to blame, but it seems that the Court was more so than the Council. As Macaulay in his usual slashing mode, says: "All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court." (*Essay on Warren Hastings*). Stephen justly takes exception to this high-flown language and criticises it somewhat severely in his work on *Nund Coomar and Impey*.

the revenue business and the judicial business, which consisted in deciding civil suits between private persons,—and for this latter business courts, independent of those Councils, were established at each of the six towns* where they sat, and afterwards at other places as well. The jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils was confined exclusively to revenue matters.†

Each of the Civil Courts so established was to be presided over by a Covenanted Servant of the Company, styled Superintendent of Diwani Adalat, who was to have jurisdiction in all cases of inheritance to zemindaries, talookdaries and other real property, or mercantile disputes,‡ and all matters of personal property, with the exception of what was reserved to the Provincial Councils who were still to decide in all cases having relation to revenue as well as on all demands of individuals for arrears of rent, and on all complaints from tenants and cultivators of undue exaction of revenue.§

The decision of the Superintendent was to be final in all cases where the amount in dispute did not exceed 1,000 rupees, but above that amount an appeal lay to the Governor-General and Council “in their department of Sadar Diwani Adalat.”

At this time the many avocations of the Governor-General and Council compelled them to give up sitting in the Sadar Diwani Adalat,|| and a separate Judge was accordingly (on the 18th October 1780) appointed to preside in that Court. The person selected for this high office was no other than Sir Elijah Impey,¶ the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and his accept-

* Impey in a letter which he wrote to Dunning in the spring of 1781, says that the Judges so appointed were *Junior* servants of the Company, and that with the exception of Mr. Dugal Campbell and Mr. Thomas Ives who were appointed to Calcutta and Moorshedabad respectively, none of them possessed necessary qualifications. As for Mr. John Guichard Booth, who was placed in charge of the Patna Court, he is described as “of the meanest natural parts, totally illiterate in his own and ignorant of any Eastern language, and one of the lowest, most extravagant dissipated young men in the country.” *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 223, 224.

† Bengal Judicial Regulation i, 1780, s. 3.

‡ Bengal Judicial Regulation i, 1780, s. 5.

§ Bengal Judicial Regulation i, 1780, s. 3.

|| As a matter of fact, however, this Court seldom, if ever, sat since the breaking out of the quarrel between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court. Sir James Stephen observes that the Sadar Diwani Adalat as Appellate Court “was an even more shadowy body than the Courts of First Instance.” *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 221, 242.

¶ It had been proposed that Hastings as well as Impey should be recalled, one for giving, and the other for accepting, this Judgeship; but the proposal as to the former was not adopted. This was no doubt a very wise exercise of the power of refusal on the part of the Court of Proprietors; for, as Macaulay very properly observes, if Hastings “had been taken from the head of affairs, the 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.” *Essay on Warren Hastings*.

ance* of it was one of the principal charges from which that much-calumniated judge so triumphantly cleared himself. He has been accused, by an eminent writer, of having accepted the office as a bribe†; but whilst his legal attainments and position sufficiently account for his selection without having recourse to that odious supposition, the self-denial‡, so rare in India in those days, with which he “declined appropriating to himself any part of the salary§ annexed to the office of Judge of Sadar Diwani Adalat until the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor should be known||,” of itself sufficiently refutes an accusation couched in terms as virulent and unfair as the statements it contains are themselves partial and unfounded¶.

But apart from the question whether Impey was justified in accepting an office to which a salary was attached, there can be no doubt that he did full justice to it. In the course of the eight months between the end of October 1780, and July 1781, he prepared a set of judicial regulations, which formed a new code of procedure, founded on the earlier regulations and including many new ones which he proposed for adoption. He was thus the first of Indian Codifiers,—a fact which testifies much to his honour. Impey’s Code** is Regulation VI of 1781. It consists of ninety-five sections, which fill thirty-eight folio pages, and repeals all other regulations then in force relating to Civil Procedure. It is not a work of genius like “Macaulay’s Code,” but it is none the less a creditable

* Elijah was recalled for having accepted the office, and his appointment formed one of the articles of impeachment against Hastings. It was said that the office was given, as “a sop to Cerberus,” to stop the mouth of the Chief Justice and bring him over to the side of the Governor-General.

† Macaulay, speaking of Hastings’ appointing Impey to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as an expedient to avoid any further quarrel with the Supreme Court, says that it was “neither more nor less than a bribe,” and concludes with these words—“the bargain was struck, Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.”

(Essay on Warren Hastings.)

‡ The appointment was worth Rupees 7,000 a month, or at least Rupees 5,000, as appears from Impey’s letter to Lord Thurlow in April 1781. *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. II, p. 232.

§ The fact, however, is that Impey regularly drew the pay for two years as Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Whether he refunded the amount on his appointment not being approved of by the Home Authorities is a matter of doubt, although from entire silence on the point one might be disposed to answer the question in the negative. Would Impey had acted without taking any salary at all, or at least without drawing any until the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor was known.

|| Impey’s letter to the Council, dated 4th July 1781, quoted in Impey’s Memoir by his son, p. 221, quarto. London, 1846.

** Vide Morley’s *Administration of Justice in British India*, p. 50, 1858.

¶ This code was translated in the Persian and Bengali languages. The Persian translation by Mr. W. Chambers was printed in 1782, and the Bengali version by Mr. Duncan in 1785. Morley’s *Administration*, p. 51, and note.

performance, written in vigorous, manly English, and is well arranged. It gives the effect of some regulations which were passed in 1780 and the earliest part of 1781, by which eighteen* courts were established, in each of which, except four, was a Judge independent of the revenue authorities. In four the Collector was to be judge, but in distinct capacities, and, as Civil Judge, wholly independent of the Board of Revenue, and subject only to the authority of the Governor-General in Council and of the Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Regulation defines the local jurisdiction of the courts and their jurisdiction over causes. It provides for the limitation of suits, giving in most cases a term of twelve years. It lays down a system of procedure which contains a greatly simplified version of the old English special pleading. It provides for the mode of trial, and contains regulations as to arbitrations and appeals, besides many other matters. An appeal is allowed from the Provincial Diwani Adalat, in cases where the amount in dispute exceeds Rs. 1,000, to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Regulation remained in force for six years when it was repealed, but re-enacted, with amendments and additions, by Regulation VIII of 1787. †

Under orders of the 6th of April, 1781, the Fouzdars instituted in 1775 were abolished, and the Police jurisdiction was transferred to the Judges of the Civil Courts, or, in some cases, to the Zemindar, by a special permission of the Governor-General in Council. The Judges, however, were not empowered to punish, but merely to apprehend offenders, whom they were at once to forward to the Darogah of the nearest Fouzdari Adalat; and the Judge of the Civil Court, the Darogah of the Fouzdari Adalat, and the Zemindar were to exercise a concurrent jurisdiction for the apprehension of robbers and disturbers of the public peace. § A separate department was established at the Presidency, under the immediate control of the Governor-General, to receive reports and returns of the proceedings of the Fouzdari Courts and lists of prisoners apprehended and convicted by the authorities in the

* Midnapur, Chubrah,* Patna, Dumbanangah, Tanjore, Bogtapore,* Rungpore,* Nattore, Dacca, Backergunge, Islamabad,* (Chittagong), Morely, Burdwan, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Masey, Rajput, Saltanah. In those marked with a * the Collector was to be Judge.

† *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 245, 246.

‡ As Magistrates, they were also empowered to hear and determine complaints for petty offences, such as abusive language, or calumny, inconsiderable assault, or affrays, and to *punish* the same, when proved, by corporal punishment, not exceeding fifteen rattans, or imprisonment not more than fifteen days. This was the *first* direct exercise of criminal jurisdiction by European functionaries in the Mofussil. Fielder, *Introduction to the Bengal Regulations*, p. 140, note.

§ Judicial Regulation xx. 1781. s

provinces.* To arrange these records and to maintain a check on all persons entrusted with the administration of criminal justice, an officer was appointed on a salary of 1,000 sicca rupees a month, to act under the direction of the Governor-General, with the title of *Remembrancer of Criminal Courts*.† The ultimate decision still rested with the Naib Nazim at Murshidabad. In the same year the Provincial Councils were dissolved, and a Committee of Revenue established, to be entrusted with the charge and administration of all revenue matters, to be vested with the powers of the Provincial Councils, and to be under the control of the Governor-General and Council.‡

The arrangement made for the appointment of a separate Judge to the Sadar Diwani Adalat not having found favour with the Home Authorities, the Governor-General and Council, in compliance with the orders sent out by the Court of Directors, resumed charge of the Court on the 15th of November 1782. In the meantime the Regulating Act, which had given rise to such terrible dissention between the two supreme powers in the land, had been amended and explained by the Statute 21 Geo. III, c. 70. By section 21 of the Amending Act, the Sadar Diwani Adalat had been constituted a Court of Record, and was thus become in reality a King's Court, although it was generally looked upon as the principal Court of the Honourable East India Company. The Statute declared the judgments of the Governor-General and Council in appeal from the Provincial Courts in civil cases to be final, except in civil suits, where the amount in dispute was £5,000 and upwards, when an appeal lay to the King in Council.§ By the 23rd section of the same Statute, the Governor-General and Council were empowered to frame regulations for the Provincial Courts,—an enactment which, as Sir James Stephen says, was the legal foundation for the body of regulations, of which the Permanent Settlement is the most famous portion.

The judicial system, as it stood towards the close of 1781, was allowed to remain intact for the next four years. At any rate no material alteration seems to have taken place in it. But a change was wrought in the region of politics and a great change it certainly was. A terrible hue and cry hav-

* Judicial Regulation, xx, 1781, ss. 11, 12.

† Judicial Regulation xx, 1781, s. 14.

‡ Revenue Regulation i, 1781.

§ Under authority given to His Majesty in Council by 3 and 4 Wm. IV, cap. 41, s. 24, an order was made on the 10th of April, fixing Rs. 10,000 as the lowest sum for which an appeal might be preferred to the Privy Council from any Court in India as matter of right. The limit still remains at this amount. There is, however, no right of appeal in criminal cases (see *The Queen v. Joykrissen Mukherji*, 9 Moo. In. A, 168).

ing been raised in England against the East India Company on account of these grievous oppressions of the people of India, the Home Government could no longer abstain from interfering in their affairs. Mr. Fox was then at the head of the Coalition Ministry, and the nation with one voice called on him to legislate for India. In response to the national call, that famous statesman, actuated as he was by the purest and most benevolent motives, brought forward his celebrated India Bill. With all its merits it was a drastic measure, pure and simple : it aimed at the very existence of the Company. The King naturally took alarm, apprehending that it would take the diadem from his head and place it on the brows of Mr. Fox ; and, therefore, although the Bill passed the Lower House by a triumphant majority, it was thrown out in the House of Lords. In the next year (1784) Mr. William Pitt, "the boy Minister," as he was called in view of his tender age, who had been placed at the head of the new Ministry, brought forward a Bill on the same subject. Although there was not in truth any essential difference between it and that of Mr. Fox, still it met with a different reception and passed through both Houses without opposition. The Bill lay the axe at the root of the power of the Company by substituting the control of a Minister of the Crown, assisted by a Board, which was to be termed the Board of Control. While, therefore, the Company continued to exercise a nominal executive power, every act was to become known to, and regulated by, the new Board. The authority of the Court of Proprietors was confined within narrow bounds ; and three only out of the twenty-four members who composed the Court of Directors, were admitted to the privilege of association with the Board in political affairs. Mr. Dundas was appointed the first President of the Board, and he continued for sixteen years to manage the affairs of India with an ability which has never been surpassed.

Warren Hastings was at the head of the Company's affairs till 1785. He was succeeded by the Marquis Cornwallis who, in the following year proceeded to India as Governor-General, carrying with him detailed instructions from the Court of Directors, which were dictated by a wise and considerate spirit, stating "that they had been actuated by the necessity of accommodating their views and interests to the subsisting manners and usages of the people, rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries, or applicable to a different state of things."

In compliance with these instructions, Lord Cornwallis directed the *re-union* of the offices of Judge and Collector in the same person, who was also to have the power of apprehend-

ng offenders against the public peace, their trial and punishment being still, however, left with the Mahomedan officers of the Nawab Nazim; and, accordingly, the Civil Courts were, in the year 1787, placed under the superintendence of the Collectors.* District Courts were established in Moorshidabad, Dacca, and Patna, presided over by Judges and Magistrates who were not Collectors, that office being unnecessary as their jurisdiction was circumscribed by the limits of those cities.† The proper Collectors or Revenue Courts were kept distinct from the Diwani Adalat, although presided over by the same persons.‡ From the latter appeals were allowed, within certain limits, to the Governor-General and Council, in their capacity of Judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat§; and the decisions of the revenue Courts were appealable, first, to the Board of Revenue, and thence to the Governor-General in Council.|| The Collectors were also appointed to act as Magistrates in apprehending offenders against the public peace; but with the exception of the chastisement of petty offences, they had no power to try or punish offences.

The administration of Criminal Justice remained in the hands of the Naib Nazim until the end of the year 1790, when the Governor-General, convinced of the inefficacy of the different plans which had been adopted and pursued from the year 1772, declared that, "with a view to secure a prompt and impartial administration of the criminal law, and in order that all ranks of people might enjoy security of person and property," he had resolved in Council "to resume the superintendence of the administration of Criminal Justice throughout the provinces"¶. Accordingly, the Nizamat Adalat was again removed from Moorshidabad to Calcutta, and was appointed to consist of the Governor-General and the Members of the Supreme Council, assisted by the Head Kazi and two Muftis.** This Court was at once a Court of Criminal Appeal and a Board of Police, as it took cognizance, not only of all judicial matters, but of the general state of the Police throughout the country.†† Magistrates were empowered to try only trivial cases of assault, abuse, or affray, and award light punishment, and in other cases they were to hold a preliminary inquiry, and if the offence charged was *prima facie* made out, to commit the delinquent for trial before the Court of Circuit,

* Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, s. 2: Rev. Reg. xx of 1787.

† Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, ss. 2, 11: Rev. Reg. xv of 1787.

‡ Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, s. 19: Rev. Reg. xxiii of 1787, s. 1.

§ Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, ss. 53—72.

|| Revenue Regulation xxiii of 1787, s. 42.

¶ Judicial Regulation xxvi of 1790, Preamble.

** Judicial Regulation xxvi of 1790, ss. 41, 42.

†† Judicial Regulation xxvi of 1790, s. 53.

always admitting him to bail except in cases of murder, theft, burglary or robbery. Four Courts of Circuit were established for the divisions of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, each to be presided over by two Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company, assisted by a Kazi and a Mufti as assessors. These Judges were required to hold a general gaol delivery every six months,* and in capital cases, to report their proceedings to the Nizamut Adalat at Calcutta for confirmation.† The two Judges sat together, but in the event of occasional absence or indisposition of one, the other might act alone.

In 1791 the Judges of the Circuit Courts were required to transmit to the Nizamut Adalat all trials wherein they disapproved of the proceedings held on trial, or of the Futwa of the law officers.‡ In the same year the cruel punishment of mutilation was abolished, fourteen years' rigorous imprisonment being substituted for the loss of two limbs, and seven years' imprisonment for the loss of one§; and the Court of Nizamut Adalat was empowered to pass sentence of death, instead of granting Diyat to the heir||, as it was called.

In 1792 the rule that the refusal to prosecute by the relatives of a murdered person was to bar the trial of the offender, was abrogated¶. In the same year the Government took the management of the police entirely out of the hands of the zemindars and farmers of land, who were no longer to be held responsible for robberies committed in their estates or farms, and placed it immediately under the Magistrates, who were required to divide their respective zillahs into police jurisdictions of twenty miles square each, to be superintended by a Darogah** , and a suite of police officers, to be paid by Government††. The village watchmen (Choukidars) were declared subject to the orders of the Darogah.

Like a wise and wary statesman who has a grand scheme in contemplation, but who does not like to give it publicity without duly considering the subject in all its bearings and under a variety of circumstances, Lord Cornwallis had, in

* Jud. Reg. xxvi of 1790, s. 31.

† Jud. Reg. xxvi of 1790, s. 52.

‡ Jud. Reg. xxxiii of 1791, s. 3.

§ Jud. Reg. xxxiv of 1791.

|| Jud. Reg. xxvii of 1791, s. 3.

¶ Jud. Reg. xl of 1792, s. 1.

** The Darogah had authority to arrest offenders on a written accusation or charge, and when the offence was bailable, to take security for appearance before the Magistrate. Of all the provisions of the new system this proved to be the most baneful. The Darogah, who was often far off from the seat of control, enjoyed almost unlimited power of extortion, and became the scourge of the country. Marshman's *History of India*, Vol. i., p. 475.

†† Judicial Regulation xli of 1792.

the last six years, been throwing out random hints in the shape of petty judicial reforms, with a view to ascertaining the true state of affairs, and it was not until he thought that he had made his ground sure that he brought forward his new system which has earned for him a high place in the roll of legislators and made his name a household word in Bengal. The year 1793 is certainly a wonderful year so far as administration of justice in India is concerned. In that year was ushered in his excellent codification of the regulations which is the basis of the Regulation Law, prevalent throughout India at the present time. At the outset of his career Lord Cornwallis had, in compliance with the instruction of the Court of Directors, united the offices of Judge, Collector and Magistrate in the same person ; but experience—that slow but sure corrector of errors—satisfied him that the result of this system would be to sacrifice the administration of justice to the fiscal interests of Government. As the moral poet says :—

“ Where self the trembling balance holds,
’Tis seldom right adjusted.”

He therefore determined to vest the collection of revenue and the administration of justice in separate officers, to abolish the Mál Adalats, or Revenue Courts and to withdraw from the Collectors of revenue all judicial powers, transferring the cognizance of all causes previously tried by the revenue officers to the Courts of Diwani Adalat. The considerations which induced him to make this change, are set forth in the Preamble to Regulation II of 1793. After setting forth the grounds for the alteration the Preamble goes on to state :—
“ The Revenue Officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the Regulations, must be subjected to the cognizance of Courts of Judicature, superintended by Judges, who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The Collectors of the Revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the Courts of Judicature.” At the same time Government lodged its judicial authority in Courts of Justice, reserving to itself only, “ as a Court of Appeal or Review, the decision of certain cases in the last resort ; ” and in order that Government itself in superintending the various branches of the resources of the state, might be precluded from injuring private property, the Governor-General in Council “ determined to submit the claims and interests of the public in such matters to be decided by the Courts of Justice, ac-

cording to the Regulations, in the same manner as suits between private individuals.*"

The following is the constitution of the Courts for the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice, as remodelled by the Bengal Code† of Regulations: I. The *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Nizamut Adalat*, which may be regarded as a single court having a civil and a criminal side. The Judges of this Court were the Governor-General and the Members of Council, with the addition, on the criminal side, of the Head *Kazi* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and two *Muftis*.‡ II. *Four Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit*, one for each of the Divisions of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. Each of these Courts was presided over by three Judges.§ III. *Twenty-three Zillah and three City Courts*, each presided over by a single Judge, who also held the office of Magistrate for the zillah or city under his jurisdiction, in which latter capacity he was further vested with the superintendence and control of the police. These three classes of Courts were European Courts, that is, they were presided over by European Officers. The fourth and last class was the only Native Court, whose *Commissioners*, as the officers holding such Court were called, were chosen from amongst the principal proprietors of land, farmers, tehsildars, managers, under-farmers, merchants, traders, shopkeepers, altamghadars, jagirdars and kazis. Thus the remark made by some of the impartial European writers—that the service was closed by Lord Cornwallis to all natives, except in the most inferior positions—is quite true and correct.

The *Sadar Diwani Adalat* exercised no original civil jurisdiction, being a Court of Appeal and Superintendence only. As an Appellate Court, it took cognizance of appeals from decrees of the Provincial Courts, in cases in which an appeal was allowed by law, and its decisions were final in all suits whatever. It was also empowered to receive original suits or appeals in which the Zillah or City Judges, or the Provincial Courts had respectively omitted or refused to proceed, and could by precept command those authorities to proceed to hear and determine them.¶ In like manner, it might receive petitions respecting suits, or appeals pending

* See Preamble to Regulation in of 1793.

† Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Barlow, a distinguished Civil Servant, had the chief hand in manipulating this Code of 1793. The Bombay Code of Regulations commenced in 1799, and the Madras Code in 1802.

‡ See Section 2 of Regulation vi of 1793, and Section 67 of Regulation ix of 1793.

§ These were in fact the Courts of Circuit established in 1790, remodelled as to their constitution and jurisdiction.

¶ At Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna.

¶ See Regulation vi of 1793, ss. 4, 9.

before the said authorities, in case they had refused to receive them, and might direct those authorities to receive such petitions and pass proper orders thereon. It could suspend Judges of the Provincial or Zillah or City Courts, who wilfully disobeyed or neglected to perform the commands contained in any process, rule, or order of the Courts to which they were subordinate.* It was also empowered to receive charges of corruption against the Judges of the Provincial Courts, or of the Zillah or City Courts. Such charges could be tried by the Sadar Diwani Adalat; or in the case of a Judge of a Zillah or City Court by the Provincial Court; or, in the case of a Judge of a Provincial Court, by a Special Commission of three or more Judges of the other Provincial Courts; or the Governor-General in Council might order the accused party to be prosecuted in the Supreme Court of Judicature by the law officers of Government. If the charge were established, the Governor-General in Council might remove the Judge, or suspend him from the Company's service, or pass such other order as might appear just and proper.

The Sadar Nizamat Adalat had cognizance of all matters relating to the administration of criminal justice and the police, and was authorised to exercise the same powers as were vested in it when it was superintended by the Naib Nazim.† Its sentences were, in all cases, to be final; but the Governor-General in Council had the power of pardoning or commuting the punishment awarded‡. All the Criminal Courts, from the highest to the lowest, administered the Mahomedan law as modified by the Regulations. The Courts of Circuit, which bore the same relation to the Nizamat Adalat as the Provincial Courts did to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, were directed to report to the Nizamat Adalat every instance in which it should appear to them that the Magistrates had been guilty of neglect or misconduct in the discharge of their duties. Those Courts were also enjoined to acquaint the Nizamat Adalat whenever the Magistrates omitted or refused to obey their orders.§

To the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat, as to each of the two lower classes of European Courts, there was attached a Register who was selected from among the Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company. The Register was the chief Ministerial Officer of the Court, and also exercised minor judicial powers. The Registership of the Sadar Court often proved a stepping-stone to that Court.

Such is a sketch of the constitution of the Sadar Diwani Ada-

* See Regulation v of 1793, s. 15; and Regulation vi of 1793, s. 13.

† See Regulation ix of 1793, ss. 72, 73.

‡ See Regulation ix of 1793, s. 79.

§ See Regulation ix of 1793, s. 63.

lat and Nizamat Adalat as organised in 1793. Many alterations and improvements were gradually introduced in the system, and this is as it should be. The edifice of law cannot be erected all at once and for ever. As Sir James Mackintosh has very properly observed, it requires to be built up gradually, in proportion as the facts arise which render some addition or alteration necessary. The Regulations which have from time to time been enacted by the British Government in India, illustrate the truth of this remark. The Sadar Court as constituted in 1793 had undergone some material changes before it was amalgamated with the Supreme Court in 1862.

For the purpose of expediting the business of the Courts of Civil Judicature by aiding the Judges in the disposal thereof, it became necessary to appoint a certain number of vakils or native pleaders. The first attempt in this direction was made by Regulation VII of 1793, which after receiving some minor amendments in 1797 and 1798, was recast and remodelled by Regulation XXVII of 1814. By this latter Regulation the Sadar Court Judges were empowered to appoint to the office of vakil such a number of persons as might, from time to time, appear to them to be necessary. No examination worth the name was required to be passed before one could be made a vakil.* If the Judges thought that he bore a good character and was otherwise fit for the office, he was at once granted a sanad empowering him to practise as a pleader in the Court. This privilege, however, was not given indiscriminately; in fact, it was accorded only to *bonâ fide* natives of India. Before entering on the duties of his office, a pleader was bound to take an oath according to prescribed form. Fees for the services of pleaders were fixed by law, and no pleader was in a position to settle with his client for less than the prescribed fees. As a safeguard against such settlement being clandestinely made, parties employing pleaders were required to deposit in Court their fees. Pleaders after accepting a vakalatnama were prohibited from being employed in the same cause against the party who may have so retained them. The duty of the Govern-

* True it is a public examination was prescribed for candidates for the office of pleader by Circular Order, No. 88 of the 19th April of 1850, but before the passing of that circular, the examination which used to be held was a mere farce. And even after the passing of the said Circular, the rule prescribed for examination was only partially observed; it was only when a pleader who, by acting in disregard of the rules for the conduct of pleadings, or by general incapacity, had shown himself to be unfit for the office of pleader, that the rule was enforced in all its strictness in case he was not summarily removed by the Court. See Carrau's *Rules of Practice of the Presidency Sadar Court*, p. 49.

† A competent knowledge of the Urdu language was absolutely necessary for a pleader. See Carrau's *Rules*, p. 49.

ment pleader* was to advise Government in legal matters and to conduct its cases. He was strictly prohibited from acting in any way against the interests of Government. The engaging a pleader, however, in a case was not absolutely necessary, for there was nothing in the law to prevent a party from pleading his own cause if he chose to do so.

Having completed his work of judicial reforms, Lord Cornwallis left for England in October 1793. He was succeeded by Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) who assumed charge of his high office towards the close of the same month. Sir John had distinguished himself in the Bengal Civil Service, and his knowledge of India and its affairs was far above average.† But he did not prove a strong Governor. During his administration the jurisdiction of the Sadar Courts was extended to the province of Benares. This was done by Regulation X of 1795, so far as the Sadar Diwani Adalat was concerned, and by Regulation XVI of the same year, so far as the Nizamat Adalat was concerned. In 1797 the limit of value for appeals from decrees, passed by the Provincial Courts on appeal, for money or other personal property was raised from one thousand to *five thousand* sicca rupees‡; and in the year following the same limit was extended to decrees for land or other real property§. These changes were made with a view to diminishing the number of appeals, and so to reduce the work of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; but by reason of the various public duties of the Governor-General and of the Members of the Supreme Council, delays could not be avoided and hence the file of undecided cases in appeal became heavier and heavier still||. In this state of circumstances it was deemed essentially necessary to the impartial, prompt and efficient administration of justice, and to the permanent security of the persons and properties of the native inhabitants of the Provinces, that the Governor-General in Council exercising the supreme legislative and executive authority of the State, should administer the judicial functions

* There were two Government pleaders, one called the Senior Government pleader and the other, the Junior Government pleader. The latter generally looked after the criminal business of Government. Above the Government pleaders was the Government Advocate. See Carrau's *Rules*. The office of Advocate-General was not established till 1779. See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, p. 157.

† Sir John was also a good literary scholar. His *Life of his friend, Sir William Jones*, is a very creditable work.

‡ In the same year rules were also framed for the conduct of appeals to the King in Council from the Sadar Diwani Adalat, requiring that the petition of appeal should be presented within six months, and the judgment appealed against should amount to £5,000 sterling. *Vide* Regulation xvi of 1797.

§ See Regulation v of 1798.

|| See Preamble to Regulation, ii of 1801.

of the Government by means of Courts of Justice distinct from the legislative and executive authority of the State. Accordingly, a Regulation* was passed for the purpose, whereby it was enacted that the Court of the Sadar Diwani and the Court of the Sadar Nizamat should thenceforth consist of three Judges to be denominated respectively Chief Judge and Second and Third Judge, of whom the Chief Judge was not to be the Governor-General or the Commander-in-Chief, but was to be one of the Members of the Supreme Council to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council; and the Second and Third Judges were to be selected from amongst the Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company, not being Members of the Supreme Council. These appointments were given to Peter Speke, Esqr., an old Member of the Council, John Lumsden, Esqr., who was the Register of the Sadar Court, and Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esqr., who was well read in Hindu Law and a profound Sanscrit scholar. The salary of the Chief Judge was fixed at £6,000 a year, and that of each of the other Judges at £5,500†. Both Mr Speke, the Chief Judge, and Mr. Lumsden held their office only for a few months. The former was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir George Hilary) Barlow, and the latter by Mr. John Herbert Harington, who, a few years after, produced his famous *Analysis*, a masterpiece of its kind.

By section 6 of the above Regulation, it was provided that the Sadar Diwani Adalat should be an open Court and was to be held by not less than two Judges; and that no decree or final order should be valid unless passed by at least two Judges. In case of difference of opinion arising, when the three Judges were present, the opinion of the majority should prevail; but if difference should arise when only two Judges were present, the matter should be referred to the Third judge. Every decree should be signed by the Judges present at the passing thereof; and all processes issued from the Court should be signed by the Register.

By section 7 the Sadar Diwani Adalat was empowered to suspend from office Judges of the Provincial, Zillah and City Courts in cases of misconduct, and to notify such suspension with all proceedings and papers relating thereto for the determination of the Governor-General in Council.

The Nizamat Adalat, it was enacted, should possess all the powers hereinbefore vested under the existing Regulations in the same Court, and should perform all the duties hereinbefore required to be performed by that Court.‡ It should be an open Court, and be subject to the same provisions as were prescribed

* Regulation ii of 1801.

† See London Jurist, Vol. III, p 670, 1832

‡ See Regulation ii of 1801 s 1

in section 6 for the Sadar Diwani Adalat.* At the same time the Court was invested with powers of suspending the Judges of the Circuit Courts and the City and Zillah Magistrates, similar to those previously conferred upon the Sadar Diwani Adalat in the case of the same functionaries as Judges of the Provincial Courts and of the Zillah and City Courts. The Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat were further directed to report† to the Governor-General in Council all instances of wilful neglect of duty or aggravated misconduct by a Covenanted Servant employed in any of the Courts in a judicial or ministerial capacity.‡

Thus the judicial authority vested in the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat was entirely separated from the executive and legislative authorities of the State, and it was by this much-longed-for severance that the Marquis Wellesley put the key-stone to that grand fabric of policy—the constitution of British India—of which the foundations had been so strongly laid by Warren Hastings.

As years rolled on and new territories were added to the Company's dominions, the jurisdiction of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat went on increasing. In 1803 their jurisdiction§ was extended to the Provinces ceded by the Nawab Vazier of Oude, and in the course of the following two years, to the conquered Provinces and Bundelkand.¶ By section 2 of Regulation XIV of 1805, the district of Cuttack having been included in the jurisdiction of the Provincial Court of Appeal for the Division of Calcutta, the jurisdiction of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was, as a matter of course, extended to that district. At the same time the Appellate jurisdiction¶ of the Nizamat Adalat was extended over the French Settlement of Chandernagore and the Dutch Settlement of Chinsura, these two places having come into the possession of the English by right of conquest. In the same year, in order that "the separation of the judicial authority from the executive authority in all their respective branches and gradations" (which formed a fundamental principle of the "constitution" of 1793) might "be carried into full and complete execution both in form and in practice,"** it was enacted that the

* See Regulation ii of 1801, s. 13.

† See Regulation ii of 1801, ss. 7, 14.

‡ A Zillah Judge was empowered upon urgent necessity to suspend a Principal Sadar Amin, Sadar Amin or Munsiff. When the Commissioner and the Judge differed as to the propriety of removing any of them, they were both to send their opinions to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Commissioner might recommend a removal when the Judge did not take the initiative. Principal Sadar Amins and Sadar Amins could not be removed from office without the sanction of the Governor-General. Munsiffs could be removed by the Sadar Diwani Adalat. See Regulation v. of 1831, s. 16.

§ See Regulation v of 1803 and Regulation viii of the same year.

¶ See Regulation viii of 1805, ss. 10 and 14c and Regulation ix of 1804.

¶ See Regulation xvi of 1805.

** See Preamble to Regulation v of 1801.

Chief Judge was no longer to be a Member of Council, but was to be selected from amongst the Covenanted Servants who were not Members of the Supreme Council ; and, accordingly, on the 23rd of July, Mr H. T. Colebrooke was appointed Chief Judge in the place of Sir George Hilario Barlow, Bart. This provision, however, was rescinded in 1807, and it was enacted that the Courts of Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat should consist of a Chief Judge, *being a Member of the Supreme Council*, but not the Governor-General nor the Commander-in-Chief, and of three Puisne Judges to be selected from amongst the Company's Covenanted Servants*. The result was that Sir George H. Barlow, Bart., who had had to make room for Mr. Henry T. Colebrooke, was restored to his former place as Chief Judge, while Mr. Colebrooke reverted to the position of Second Judge. The Fourth Judgeship created anew by the Regulation was given to Mr. John Fombelle.

As a necessary consequence of the extension of their jurisdiction, there had been a considerable increase in the work of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat. Such heavy work it was found impossible for three Judges to cope with, and, accordingly, in 1807, a new Judge was as we have seen, added to the number. But this addition did not go far enough to meet the difficulty to its full extent. At the same time no further addition could so soon be made consistent with the principle of economy which had all along been the guiding policy of the Court of Directors. In this state of things, the Governor-General adopted the only course which was left to him to follow, namely, that of increasing the power of a "single-seated Judge," as such an officer is styled in England. Accordingly, in 1808,† it was enacted that, when it was necessary for the speedy determination of cases, one Judge of the Nizamat Adalat might sit and exercise the powers of the Court‡; but when he did not concur with the Court of Circuit, he was to wait until another Judge could sit with him, before orders were passed§. And similarly, in 1810, one Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was empowered to hold a sitting of this Court, when from unavoidable cause, a second Judge was not available, but he could not *reverse or alter* any decision or order until a second Judge sat with him.|| But these expedients did not prove quite

* See Regulation xv of 1807.

† In the same year it was declared that all trials of persons for robbery with open violence and liable to transportation for life, should, on the conviction of the offender, be referred to the Nizamat Adalat. See Regulation viii of 1808, s. 4.

‡ According to Regulation ii of 1801, no less than two Judges could form a Court.

§ See Regulation viii of 1808, s. 6; and Regulation xxv of 1814, s. 17.

|| See Regulation xiii of 1810, s. 8.

successful, and the work of the Courts went on accumulating. The call of duty was very urgent, and it was absolutely necessary that better means should be adopted for the administration of justice with reasonable despatch. It is true that slow justice is better than speedy injustice, but it is equally true that justice, however desirable, should not "be made sour by delay." In order to expedite business without detracting from its efficiency, it was enacted, in 1811, that the Courts of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat should consist of a Chief Judge and of as many Puisne Judges as the Governor-General in Council might, from time to time, deem necessary for the despatch of the business of those Courts. The words, "being a Member of the Supreme Council" were here omitted as a necessary qualification for the Chief Judge.* Agreeably to the above enactment the number of Judges was increased to five, and the work of the Courts which had become very cumbersome, was, to a certain extent, lightened; and the result would have been better still if the Judges had been more carefully selected. Not long after, Sir John Leach, the then Master of the Rolls, in a case which came before him on appeal from Bombay, remarked that the Judges of the Company's Courts were neither acquainted with law nor justice, and that it was high time for the Ministers of the Crown to interfere.† Although the remark was rather sweeping, and did not apply to all the Judges, still it could not be denied that there was some truth in it. And this undesirable state of things, it would seem, Government had been cognizant of from before. Accordingly, we find that in 1814, some step was taken with a view to removing it at least to a certain extent. In that year it was made a necessary qualification for the office of a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat, that the person to be appointed should have officiated for not less than three years as Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal or Court of Circuit; or that he should previously have discharged judicial functions, civil or criminal, for a period of not less than nine years.‡ At the same time the Sadar Diwani Adalat was empowered to transfer to its own file and try suits amounting to 50,000 current rupees, or 43,103 sicca rupees (being the amount fixed for appeals to the King in Council), whenever from pressure of business in the Provincial Courts, it appeared that they could in this way be more conveniently or expeditiously tried.§ In the same year more definite rules were enacted with respect to the admission of special appeals which were

* See Regulation xii of 1811.

† See the London Jurist, Vol. iii, p. 467, 1832.

‡ See Regulation xxv of 1814.

§ See Regulation xxv of 1814, l. 5, cl. 1

directed to lie to the Superior Courts only when the judgment should appear to be inconsistent with precedent or some Regulation, or with the Hindu or Mahomedan law, or other law or usage which might be applicable, or unless it should involve some point of importance not before decided by the Superior Courts.* Summary appeals were also directed to lie from the Provincial Courts to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, in cases where those Courts had refused to admit or investigate any regular suit or appeal, regularly cognizable by them, on the ground of delay, informality, or other default.† And all decisions of the Provincial Courts,‡ whether original or in appeal from the Zillah or City Judges, where the claim exceeded 5,000 rupees, were declared to be appealable to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.§ In 1817 it was directed that special appeals should be allowed where decrees, passed by one or more Courts, were inconsistent with each other.|| Several extensions and definitions of the grounds for the admission of special appeals had been at various times enacted when, in 1819, it was further declared to be competent to the Provincial Courts and to the Sadar Diwani Adalat to admit a second or special appeal whenever, on a perusal of the decree of a Lower Court from whose decision the special appeal was desired, there might appear strong probable ground, from whatever cause, to presume a failure of justice.¶ This provision, vague and too general as it was, was ere long, rescinded, and the Courts were directed to conform to the former rules with regard to the admission of special appeals.**

Side by side with the changes made in the powers and privileges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, there were similar changes in the sister Court of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. In 1817 all trials where persons were convicted, in the Courts of Circuit, of robbery or burglary, not within the provisions for robbery by open violence, if accompanied by murder, attempt to commit murder, or wounding, were made referable to the Nizamat Adalat.†† In 1825 the Judges of Circuit were empowered to pass *final* sentences and to carry them into execution without reference to the Nizamat Adalat, on the ground of their want of authority to inflict sufficient punishment, in all cases of

* See Regulation xxvi of 1814, s. 2.

† See Regulation xxvi of 1814, s. 3.

‡ The number of Judges in all the Provincial Courts was raised from three to four in 1814; and in 1826 the Governor-General in Council was empowered to appoint to each Court as many Judges as were necessary for the despatch of business. See Regulation v of 1814, and Regulation i of 1826.

§ See Regulation xxv of 1814, s. 5.

|| See Regulation xix of 1817, s. 7.

¶ See Regulation ix of 1819, s. 2.

** Vide Regulation i of 1825, ss. 4, 5.

†† Vide Regulation xvii of 1817, s. 8.

culpable homicide not amounting to wilful murder*. This power of passing final sentences was extended in the same year to persons convicted of robbery by open violence not attended with murder or attempt at murder; the punishment, however, being restricted to thirty-nine ratans and rigorous imprisonment for fourteen years†. In 1829 the Courts of Circuit were abolished, and in their stead Commissioners of Circuit were appointed, with like powers, to hold gaol delivery twice a year, to perform all duties heretofore discharged by the Superintendents of Police, and to be under the authority of the Nizamat Adalat‡.

Up to the year 1831 the natives of India in the British provinces had been systematically denied all participation in the government of their country. Under the pressure of public necessity a few inferior officers, it is true, had been created for the relief of the European functionaries; but the declared policy of the Government both in England and in India was against the measure of opening public employment to the natives of the soil, on the ground that it was pregnant with danger to the existence of British authority. It was reserved for Lord William Bentinck§ to break through these long-standing, and, with few exceptions, persistently maintained, opinions, and to carry out salutary reforms with the aid and co-operation of the able and liberal-minded Members of his Council who, fortunately for this down-trodden country, were quite in accord with him. The principal reform,—the one with which we are at present concerned,—was applied to the Judicial Department in the creation of native Judges worthy of the name and their primary jurisdiction over civil suits, thereby not only relieving that department of a heavy load of work which could never be completely got rid of, but also opening a way to official service which, in later years, has received considerable extension with singular success.¶ This material change in the policy of Government was effected by Regulation V. of 1831, under which Principal Sadar Amins, now called Subordinate Judges, were appointed at the Zillah and City Stations. By section 28 of that memorable Regulation it was provided that, from the decisions of the Principal Sadar Amins

* *Vide* Regulation xii of 1825, s. 7.

† *Vide* Regulation xvi of 1825.

‡ *Vide* Regulation i of 1829.

§ In concluding his famous Essay on Lord Clive, Macaulay thus extols his hero:—"His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck."

¶ See Meadows Taylor's *Student's Manual of the History of India*, pp. 621, 622.

in suits of the value of 5,000 rupees, a regular appeal should lie to the Zillah and City Judges, and from the decisions of the latter in appeal, a special appeal should lie to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Provincial Courts of Appeal, which were not in good grace with the Government, were gradually superseded, and the Zillah and City Judges were empowered instead to have primary jurisdiction in all suits exceeding in value 5,000 rupees. An appeal lay from their original decisions direct to the Sadar Djwani Adalat.*

The Regulation aforesaid has also done yeomen's service to the legal profession,—a profession which at one time was identified with fraud, chicanery, and extortion, but which has now assumed such a high and noble character as would well compare with the most honorable professions in the world. Hitherto none but *bond fide* natives of the land were allowed to join the bar of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; but this restriction which was of a purely arbitrary character was removed by the said Regulation, and the office of pleader was thrown open to all persons, without distinction of creed, colour or nationality, who, in the opinion of the Judges, should be deemed eligible for it. In point of fact, while the invidious distinction referred to above, was in force, the character of the profession was anything but creditable, nay, it deserved to be condemned in no measured terms. A writer in the *London Jurist* for 1832, in an able article† on the *Administration of Justice in India*, thus observes:—"In the Company's Courts there is no semblance of jury trial, either in civil or criminal cases; but there is a bar, under the name of vakils or pleaders,—frequently an ignorant and not unfrequently a very corrupt class,—such, in general, as would be designated in this country by the word 'pettifogger.' At this bar, no Englishman, or any other Christian is allowed to practise." There is no doubt that the article from which this passage is quoted was written before the bar of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was strengthened by accessions from the Christian community. For we find that in March 1832 Mr. N. B. C. Baillie, who has achieved deathless fame by his works on Mahomedan law, was admitted to the same bar, and that in May next he was followed by Mr. C. French. Mr. J. C. Sutherland‡ joined towards the close of the following year. Indeed, almost in every year there were additions from the European quarter. In 1843, two intellectual giants, one might say so, entered the ranks of pleaders, one a Hindu native of high rank and respectability, and the other a true-

* See Regulation v of 1831, s. 29.

† See Vol. iii, p. 165.

‡ Mr. Sutherland has done good service to the profession by editing Reports of select Cases in the Sadar Diwani Adalat from 1832 to 1834

born Briton who bore a poetical name and was remarkable for his legal learning and forensic ability. Need I say that I refer to Prosunno Coomar Tagore, a recognized authority on Hindu law, and Mr. J. G. Waller who was the first man amongst the Christian pleaders of his time. Indeed, the removal of restriction, in the matter of the appointment of pleaders, had a very wonderful effect. The character of the bar was at once changed, and a very happy change it certainly was. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in his evidence before the Committee appointed to consider the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter of 1831, said that, "many pleaders of the Sadar Diwani Adalat were men of the highest respectability and legal knowledge, and were treated by the Judges in a manner which made them feel that they had a character to support."* This very marked improvement in the status of the native bar proved a tempting bait which even the highest intellects in the land thought it worth their while to nibble at. Rama Prosad Roy, whose fame as a pleader has not been eclipsed by any subsequent native luminary of law, and Krishna Kishore Ghose, whose knowledge of the Regulations was almost unparalleled, both of them joined the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1844. In this way the native bar attained such a character for ability and knowledge of law that it was quite in a position to hold its own against the well-trained members of the Supreme Court bar, and so Government very properly thought that it would not be doing injustice to the pleaders by allowing the barristers of the Queen's Court to practise in the Company's Courts. Accordingly, an Act was passed in the beginning of the year 1846,—indeed, it was the very first Act of the session, whereby the office of pleader was not only thrown open "to all persons of whatever nation or religion," provided they were certified to be "of good character, and duly qualified," but that barristers of the Supreme Court were also permitted to practise in the Sadar Court, subject, however, to all the rules in force "applicable to pleaders relating to the language in which the Court is to be addressed, or any other matter."† In other words, barristers who were able to argue cases in Urdu or Hindustani, were welcome to practise in the Sadar Court. At the same time parties were given by the Act power to make private agreements with their pleaders regarding the remuneration to be paid for professional services. These agreements could only be enforced by a regular suit in a Court of Justice. By a subsequent Act‡ the privilege accorded to barristers-at-law by the Act of 1846^{ss} was

* Raja Ram Mohan Roy's English Works, Vol. ii, pp. 528, 529.

† The words, "any other matter," as explained by Peacock, C. J., in *Ka^{on} prosad Misser vs. Ram'lal Sookool*, mean "any other matter of the same description." *10 Sev.*, p. 39.

‡ Act xx of 1853.

was extended to attorneys-at-law of the Supreme Court, subject, of course, to the rules applicable to barristers pleading in the Sadar Court, "whether relating to the language in which the Court is to be addressed, or to any other matter." Thus, with the onward march of time, the long distance which intervened between the Supreme Court and the Sadar Court was being gradually lessened, thereby paving the way to their final union in the year of grace, 1862.

We have seen that both in 1808 and 1810 some powers were given to single Judges in certain cases in consequence of heavy arrears in judicial work. Similar reason led the Legislature to enlarge those powers in 1831. This was done by Regulation IX—*A Regulation for the more speedy and efficient administration of justice in the Courts of Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat*. By section 2 of this Regulation a single Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was declared competent to confirm decisions in appeal where no sufficient ground had been shown to impugn the decision appealed against, or to issue an injunction for a revision of the decision pointing out its defects. He was also empowered to admit a special appeal of his own authority, and stay execution of judgment or order until final decision. In cases of difficulty or importance, he might refer the matter to two or more Judges after recording his own opinion. Similarly, a single Judge of the Nizamat Adalat was declared* competent to reverse or alter the sentence or order passed on any criminal trial by any Court of inferior jurisdiction, provided such reversion or alteration should be in favor of the accused. In cases in which the Commissioner of Circuit differed from his law officer, a single Judge concurring with the Commissioner might pass final order except for capital punishment, whatever might be the *futwa* of the law officer of the Nizamat Adalat. But he was not competent to convict and punish against the opinion of the Commissioner, if the latter was for acquittal, or otherwise in favor of the prisoner.

In the same year a Court of Sadar Diwani Adalat was instituted for the North-Western Provinces, with the same powers in those provinces as were vested in the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta.† Thus the work of the Calcutta Court was to a certain extent reduced. But this diminution in one respect was ere long followed by increase in another. The Provincial Courts, which for some years past had been suffering from the disfavour of Government, were finally abolished in 1833, and the business of those Courts was distributed between the Zillah and City Courts on the one side and the Sadar Diwani Adalat

* See Regulation ix of 1831, s. 4.

† See Regulation vi of 1831.

on the other, all original suits then pending being transferred to the former, and all appeals, regular, special, or summary, so pending, to the latter.* To cope with the extra work thus thrust upon the Zillah and City Courts, their ranks were strengthened by fresh recruits from the Covenanted Service.†

In 1813, by the Statute 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 107, British subjects residing, trading, or holding immovable property, in the provinces, were made amenable to the Company's Courts in civil suits brought against them by natives; but in order to differentiate their case from that of others they had been given a right of appeal to the Supreme Court at Fort William in cases where an appeal would otherwise have lain to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. This invidious distinction, however, was removed in 1836. in which year it was enacted that the said right of British subjects should cease to have any force or effect, and that no person by reason of birth or descent should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts,‡ or be incapable of being a Principal Sadar Amin, Sadar Amin, or Munsiff.§

In 1837 the powers of the Principal Sadar Amins were further enlarged, and they were authorised to set aside summary judgments passed by Collectors.|| They were also authorised to take cognizance of suits of any amount which might be referred to them by the Zillah or City Judges¶; as well as of any civil proceedings, miscellaneous or summary, so referred to them with the sanction of the Sadar Diwani Adalat.** Orders passed by Principal Sadar Amins in such proceedings were first appealable to the Judge, and thence specially to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Decrees in original suits up to the value of 5,000 rupees were first appealable to the Judge and thence specially to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.†† Decrees in suits above this amount were appealable direct to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.‡‡

In 1838 rules were passed by Her Majesty in Council whereby it was prescribed that after the last day of the year no appeal to the Privy Council should be allowed by the Sadar Diwani Adalat unless the petition was presented within six months from the date of the judgment or order complained of, and unless the value of the matter in dispute amounted to the sum of 10,000 Company's rupees at the lowest. After the above date the limitation of 5,000 pounds sterling heretofore existing in respect of appeal should wholly cease.

We have already stated that the Sadar Diwani Adalat and

* See Regulation ii of 1833, s. 5.

† See Regulation viii of 1833, s. 2.

‡ See Act xi of 1836.

§ See Act viii of 1836, s. 1.

|| See Act xxv of 1837, s. 2.

¶ See Act xxv of 1837, s. 1.

** Com. Act vi of 1871, s. 27.

†† Com. Act vi of 1871, s. 28.

‡‡ See Act vi of 1871, s. 22.

Nizamat Adalat had attached to them a Register, who was chosen from amongst the Covenanted Servants of the Company, and that his powers were very great, only next to those of the Judges presiding in the Courts. Not to speak of his ministerial capacity, which was of the highest kind possible, he also exercised some minor judicial powers. He was competent to take evidence when directed to do so by the Court, and discharged other important functions, acting, for instance, as Secretary to the Court in the exercise of its administrative powers.* Owing to increase in the work of the Sadar Courts, there was also corresponding increase in the business of the Register. This being the case, it was found necessary to employ men to assist him. Accordingly, a Deputy Register and an Assistant Register were appointed to act in subordination to him. By Act VII of 1841 it was enacted that any person, not being a Covenanted Servant of the Company, might, when it was deemed expedient by Government, be appointed Deputy Register or Assistant Register of the Sadar Courts. The Deputy was empowered to sign Circulars and attest copies of papers given to parties on stamp papers, and to perform the duties ent. isted to the first Assistant.† The latter was empowered to sign precepts and attest copies on plain paper issued by order of the Court, or retained among its records.‡ It would seem that Ram Govind Shome was the first native Deputy Register of the Sadar Courts. At any rate there is no doubt of his having been so in 1847, when Mr. John Abraham Hawkins was about to be elevated to the Bench from the Register's chair.

In the year 1841 it was enacted that, from every sentence or order passed by the Sessions Judge, there should be permitted one appeal within three months to the Nizamat Adalat, and that the sentences or orders passed on such appeals should be final.§ Powers of general superintendence were, however, given to the Nizamat Adalat, enabling that Court, whenever it should think fit, to call for the whole record of any criminal trial in any subordinate Court and pass such orders thereon as it should deem just and proper, but not so as to enhance the punishment awarded, or punish any person acquitted by the subordinate Court ||.

In 1829 the denomination of Chief Judge, Second, Third, etc. Judge had been abolished,¶ but the cumbrous designation of

* See Field's Introduction to the Regulations, p 151, note.

† For a detailed account of the duties of the Deputy Register, see Carrau's *Rules of Practice of the Sadar Court*, pp. 39-46.

‡ See Circular Order, dated the 3rd April, 1840.

§ See Act xxxi of 1841, s. 2.

|| See the same Act, ss. 3, 4. This was again re-enacted in 1848

See s. 4 of Act xix of that year.

¶ See Act iii of 1829, s. 2.

Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat was left untouched. This desirable change*, which sense of convenience so imperatively required, was made in the year 1842, whereby the simple designation of "Sadar Courts" was substituted for the old uncouth names. Thus, both the style of the Courts and the nomenclature of the Judges were made as plain and simple as ever. The Chief Judge came to be designated the Senior Judge *par excellence*, and this distinction was made evidently in view of his higher pay. The Senior Judge present, whoever he might be, should be considered the organ of the Court, and should conduct the proceedings of the Court and communicate their decision.†

One of the most remarkable features of Indian procedure is, as Dr. Field says, the great latitude of appeal which it has always permitted. However sound such a system may be in theory, there is no doubt that in practice it is attended with considerable expenditure of money, and it is this costliness which takes off much from its utility. Very few suitors can afford to undergo such expenses, so that in most cases the law remains a dead letter. But as this complicated Law of Appeal forms a part of the Indian Statute Book, we cannot, in a subject like the present, avoid giving some account of it.

Finality was given to no decisions of the Courts established in 1793, except certain decisions of the Provincial Courts. In original suits two kinds of appeals were generally allowed, namely, regular or first appeals, and special or second appeals. As to appeals to the Sovereign in Council, they were allowed only in certain cases, the number of which was comparatively very small.‡ The procedure in cases of regular appeals to the Sadar Court was, after many alterations, finally laid down in detail in Act XV of 1853. This Act provided § that every petition of regular appeal, in a case appealable to either of the said Courts, should be presented to the Court in which the decision was passed, within six weeks from the date of that decision. Such petition of appeal should, except in cases of appeal *in formâ pauperis*, contain only notice that the party being dissatisfied with the decision was desirous of appealing from it. The time for making such petition might be extended at the discretion of the Court. The petition of appeal together with the record of the Lower Court, should be certified to the Sadar Court as soon as conveniently might be

* See Act viii of 1842.

† See Carrau's *Rules*, p. 35.

‡ For rules regarding Appeals to the Privy Council, see Carrau's *Rules of Practice*, pp. 8—16.

§ See section 2.

after the presentation of the petition of appeal.* On arrival of the appeal record at the Sadar Court, notice should be affixed to the Court-house of the said Court, requesting the appellant to file, within six weeks from the date thereof, his grounds of objection to the decision of the Court below.† On the filing of the grounds of objection by the appellant notice should be affixed in the Court-house of the Sadar Court requiring the respondent to file his grounds of objection, if any, to the appeal or to the decision of the Lower Court within four weeks from the date of such notice.‡ At the expiration of the time allowed to the respondent for filing his objections, the record should be deemed complete and the case ready to be called up for decision on any day the Sadar Court might notify§ The respondent was also competent to file a separate petition of appeal, if he desired to object to any part of the decision of the Lower Court not involved in the appeal.|| The grounds of appeal should be stated distinctly and concisely without any argument or narrative of facts, and should be numbered consecutively, and should be on a proper stamp paper.¶ No decision should be reversed or altered, nor should any case be remanded on appeal to the Sadar Court on account of any error, defect, or irregularity not productive of injury to either party, nor opposed to any express enactment contained in the general Regulations or Acts of Government.** The provision as to injury or no injury being occasioned to either party also found place in Act IX of 1854; and it was again incorporated in section 350 of Act VIII of 1859.††

In 1843 very important provisions were made in respect of special appeals. The law as laid down in Act XXVI of 1814, was that no special appeal should be admitted unless upon the face of the decree or on the documents exhibited therewith (assuming all the facts of the case as stated in the decree to be true and correct), the judgment appeared to be inconsistent with some established judicial precedent‡‡, or with some regulation in force, or with the Hindu or Mahomedan law in cases required to be decided by those laws, or with some other

* See section 5.

† See section 6.

‡ See section 7.

§ See section 8.

|| See section 7.

¶ See section 10.

at* See section 15.

ra† For further particulars regarding regular appeals, see *Carrau's Rules of Practice*, pp. 39—41.

—‡ That is, as explained by Reg. xix of 1817, s. 7—another decree of the same Court or of another Court having jurisdiction in the same suit or suit founded on a similar cause of action.

law or usage applicable to the case, or unless the judgment involved some point of general interest or importance not before decided by the Superior Courts. As a check on the admission of special appeals, it was subsequently enacted* that no such appeal should be admitted unless *two* Judges concurred in the propriety of its admission, the law having been that *one* Judge could, of his own authority, admit it. By Act III of 1843, it was provided that special appeals should lie to the Sadar Diwani Adalat from all decisions passed in regular appeal in all subordinate Civil Courts, when it should appear that such decisions were inconsistent with some law or usage having the force of law, or some practice of the Courts, or involved some question of law, usage or practice upon which there might be reasonable doubts. It is to be observed that the words in the Regulation of 1814, "unless the judgment involved some point of general interest or importance," were not repeated in this Act. Hence it was open to doubt whether a case involving some point of general interest or importance was fit to be brought before the highest tribunal. Parties were not, however, allowed to file special appeals as a matter of right. They had in the first place to apply for leave. Such applications were heard by a single Judge, who, if he thought that the case was a fit case for special appeal, was required to reduce the point or points to writing in English in the form of a certificate. At the hearing of the appeal, the Sadar Diwani Adalat was to determine the point or points so certified *and no other point or part of the case whatever*.

Act III of 1843 was repealed by Act XVI of 1853, which allowed a special on the following grounds:—(1) That the decision had failed to determine all material points in difference in the cause, or had determined the same or any of them contrary to law or usage having the force of law; (2) on the ground of the *misconstruction* of any document; (3) on the ground of any ambiguity in the decision affecting the merits; (4) on the ground of any substantial error or defect in procedure, or in the investigation of the case, provided such error or defect were apparent on the record and had produced, or was likely to have produced, some error or defect in the decision of the case upon the merits. No special appeal was, however, to lie, nor was any decision to be reversed, altered, or remanded, upon the ground that the decision of any question of fact was contrary to, or was not warranted by, the evidence duly taken in the cause, or any probability deduc^{ed} from the record. A petition of special appeal was required to be presented within three months from the date of decision appealed against, unless the petitioner could show *that*,

* See Regulation ix of 1819, s. 5.

and reasonable cause to the satisfaction of the Sadar Court for not having presented it within such limited period. Every such petition of appeal should be accompanied by authenticated copies of the decree objected to and of the decree of the Court of the First Instance. Applications for the admission of special appeal were to be heard by one or more Judges. If any application were heard by two Judges who differed in opinion as to admitting the appeal for hearing, it was to be admitted. If heard by one Judge, who was for rejecting it, the application was to be laid before a second Judge, and was to be admitted or rejected according to his opinion. Every order for admitting a special appeal was to specify, for the information of the Court, the grounds upon which it had been admitted; but neither the Court nor the parties were to be confined to those grounds at the hearing. Special appeals, when admitted, were to be heard by three or more Judges of the Sadar Court.*

The Courts, both Civil and Criminal, were for a long time unprovided with any rules of evidence. The Mahomedan Criminal Law had long been in vogue, but it, too, gradually ceased to have operation.† This was the state of the law as to evidence when Act II of 1855 was passed "for the further improvement of the Law of Evidence." But this Act introduced a certain amount of difficulty, inasmuch as it assumed the English rules of evidence to be in force in the Company's Courts, which was not actually the case, except in so far as they had been adopted as a source of guidance where the Legislature had not laid down any authoritative rule. At length, however, a Code of Evidence was drawn up and passed into law under the auspices of that well-known jurist, Sir James F. Stephen. This is the present Indian Evidence Act (I of 1877), the provisions of which apply both to Civil and Criminal proceedings.

In the Mutiny year, or in the year preceding it, no material change seems to have been made in the judicial system. Indeed, the attention of the authorities was engrossed by events of a most alarming character which hardly left them time to attempt at erecting "trophies of Peace." With the suppression of the Mutiny ended the glorious rule of the famous "John Kumpany," and a new epoch was ushered in by the Government of India Act, 1858 (21 and 22 Vict., c. 108), which declared that India was thenceforth to be governed by, and in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of England. This radical change in the policy of Government was announced

* See Field's Introduction to the Regulations, p. 181. For further particulars regarding special appeals, see Carran's *Rules*, pp. 4-6, 41, 42.

† See *Mir Khedmath Ali vs. Mussamul-Nasrunnissa*, 2 Sev., p. 449.

by the Royal Proclamation of the first November, 1858. It is very remarkable that this very measure had been proposed by that far-sighted statesman, Mr. Fox, so far back as the year 1783, but as the times were not then deemed favorable, it was shelved in until a better opportunity arose for its revival.

Having won victories of war, Government now directed its attention to winning victories of peace. The legislative mill was set in motion, and the result was that very valuable work in the shape of judicial enactments was turned out. The two earliest and most important of them were the Rent Law and the Civil Procedure Code. By the former Act, the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts was wholly taken away and an exclusive jurisdiction given to the Collectors' Courts in cases relating to rent and its adjuncts. By section 160 of that Act it was provided that in suits of the amount or value exceeding five thousand rupees an appeal should lie to the Sadar Court in its civil side. Almost simultaneously with Act X was passed Act VIII, otherwise called the Code of Civil Procedure. This valuable ornament of the Indian Legislature, which is a real gem of its kind, had been prepared by that sound lawyer and eminent judge, Sir Barnes Peacock, and although in course of time some additions and alterations have been made therein, still its material framework remains almost in the same state in which it was first presented to the profession and the public. The Civil Procedure Code was followed in 1861 by a sister Code for the guidance of the Courts of Criminal Judicature. This Code, too, owed its origin to the same distinguished jurist, and it well deserved to stand side by side with its kinsman of a more pacific mind and mood. As is the case with the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, too, though it has undergone some changes in the course of years, still retains its original character; and if Sir Barnes were to rise from his grave, he would not find much difficulty in recognising the pet offspring of his judicial brain.

The Sadar Diwāni Adalat and Nizamat Adalat theoretically derived their jurisdiction and authority, not from the British Crown, but from the Native Government, in whose name the East India Company acted as administrators of revenue. They were Company's Courts, not King's Courts.* Now that the Company had ceased to exist as a governing body, and the Crown had assumed the direct rule of the country, it was high time that such distinction should be removed altogether, and, accordingly, the Sadar Courts were wedded to the

* See Sir C. Herbert's *Government of India*, p. 46.

Supreme Court, thereby making them one body and one soul, or as the English^{*} Virgil says,

“One common soul animates the whole.”

This happy union had been proposed so far back as the year 1786 by that eagle-eyed statesman, Warren Hastings, but as the match was not then deemed desirable by the Authorities in England, the proposal fell through, and would most probably have remained in abeyance longer still, but for the Sepoy Mutiny which gave an altogether new feature to British domination in India. The fusion of the two Courts was effected by means of the Statute 24 and 25 Vict., c. 104, and to give significance and importance to this felicitous union, the Courts so amalgamated were given a new name and were called the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. Till the time of this fusion the old abuses had, to a certain extent, continued to prevail, though they were not much complained of. The clumsy remedy of the Supreme Court actions was applied, but the disease to which it had been applied was not cured. When this much-desired union was effected and when the various Codes of law, especially the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, were prepared by able and experienced English lawyers, the whole administration of justice in India was brought into one general system, based upon definitely ascertained principles, and administered by a single set of Courts in each province, the High Courts formed out of the Supreme Court and the old Sadar Courts standing at the head of the system in their respective provinces.*

We cannot better conclude this account of the Sadar Courts of the Bengal Presidency than by giving a short summary of the laws administered in those Courts. These laws might be classed under five distinct heads, considering Mahomedan law, Civil and Criminal, as one head only :

1. The Regulations enacted by Government previously to the 3rd and 4th Wm. IV., Chap. 85, and the Acts of the Governor-General in Council passed subsequently to that Statute.
2. The Hindu civil law in all suits between Hindus regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions.†

* See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 192, 193.

† In cases where the parties were Hindus, the law of contract, family customs (*kulachar*), and the customs of particular parts of the country were in practice, commonly recognized in, modification of the Hindu law as reserved by the Regulations.

3. The Mahomedan civil law in similar suits between Mahomedans.*
4. The laws and customs, so far as the same could be ascertained, of other natives of India not being Hindus or Mahomedans, in similar suits where such other natives were parties.
5. In cases for which no specific rule might exist, the judges were to act according to justice, equity and good conscience, which has been generally understood as meaning the law of the ruling Power that is, the English law.
6. The Mahomedan criminal law as modified by the Regulations. Persons not professing the Mahomedan religion were, on claiming exemption, excepted from trial under the Mahomedan law for offences cognizable under the general Regulations.†

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

* In practice the Mahomedan law has been applied to a variety of cases which may be arranged under the following heads : *viz.*, Inheritance, Sale, Pre-emption, Gift, Will, Marriage, Dower, Divorce, Parentage, Guardianship and Minority, Slavery, Endowments, Debts and Securities, Claims and Judicial Matters. These subjects have accordingly been dealt with by text-writers on Mahomedan law.

See Bengal Regulation vi of 1832, s. 5.

ART. IX.—MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD AND
THE KORAN.

FIRST PAPER.

MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD, the Prophet of Qadian, has burst forth in a new place. He writes from Qadian that he is going to establish a new monthly magazine—these monthly magazines seem to be all the rage at present in India—called *The Review of Religions*, and that it deserves “special attention.” He hopes some one will “kindly spare a portion” of his “valuable time” for going through a certain *Prospectus* and publish a review of it in some “esteemed journal.”

We need not say that we welcome his re-appearance on a new, and that the literary, war-path, and from the following paper he will see that we give him as much as he can wish. There is a “Modern Monkey Gospel” becoming current among a certain class in Western lands, mostly in England and America, but this movement of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is a nobler and truer thing viewed in its essence. Setting aside minor, though essential, points, this is a protest against the inordinate materialistic tendencies of Europe, especially England and America,—for these old hashed-up ideas have not affected the other great countries of Christendom,—against the modern idea so sedulously believed in by that class, of the degradation and objectless existence of man. “When the enemy shall come in as a flood, the spirit of the Lord shall raise up a standard against him ;” and so we find a standard raised up against infidelity even by a Mahomedan, whatever we may think of his Divine claims. If the English-speaking world is vastly concerned about the truths and facts of religion—as if they are either in doubt or far to seek—the natural tendency, however, being now, as pointed out in the last October number of the *London Quarterly Review*, to go back from Darwinism to Calvinism—Dr. Alexander Japp proving that there are no such things as “survival of the fittest,” “natural and sexual selection,” or “Nature abhorring self-fertilization”:—if the English-speaking world are earnest in going to “the root of the matter”—the existence of God, His Word, and His Gospel,—on the other hand the impact of the Western Light, of the Christian Faith as well as Science, on India is producing a most remarkable and observable effect. The old faiths of India, especially Hinduism and Mahomedanism, have become unfixed, and people are everywhere,—from the learned Hindu “Judge” who regularly reads his Bible and yet is not

a "Christian," down to the humblest failure of the "Matriculation" Examination,—striking out one way or other, groping for "The Light," and not finding it. India, in fact, in all its faiths and religions, is seething and boiling over. Among even the markedly unprogressive Mahomedans, Syed Ahmed Khan's followers would represent an enlightened criticism of the Koran—but strict adherence to it, which implies a contradiction of terms,—the "old" party reckon the preceding as heretics; Mr. Justice Amcer Ali comes forward to explain and apologise for the Blood or Tribute policy of a rude barbarian to a tolerant, civilised, polished and hyper-critical age; and our friend Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sets himself up as "the Messiah" in *the Spirit*—this being perhaps the most enlightened and important development of all. His claims being considered "the Messiah" in the special sense in which the title is applied to "the Son of Man and Son of God" may be contested; but the Mirza probably knows what he is about. And he has our warmest wish that he may succeed in his *spiritual* work.

It will be seen from his manifesto that he throws unfaith and evil-living on Christians, *i.e.*, Europeans; that he sets himself forth as the Divinely-appointed Messiah; and that he calls on all Christians and Moslems to believe in him.

We should think that, for the present at least, Christians are quite content with their own Christ. Let the Mirza first of all get those of his own kind, especially the *Syeds*, to believe on him, or in him and then, no doubt, it will be time for Christians to look into his credentials. We may add for his particular information, that his conception of "the Messiah" is not that of "the Son of God," Divine in Essence and Nature, the "Mediator" (*Goel*) and Deliverer (atonement by sacrifice) from Sin—which Christians believe in.

He also specially stands forth as the defender of the Koran, and as a first "exercise" for his forthcoming *Review of Religions*, and for him to prove himself a worthy champion of the Koran—and of Mahomed—we set forth here the asserted origin of the Koran and Mahomed's share in it, and as viewed from a rational stand-point, in which it will be seen that a renegade Armenian or Syrian monk bulks very largely. At all events, we live in a critical and questioning age, not very much inclined to believe in Archangel Gabriel's bringing down special revelations as to modes of private behaviour with wives, and of appropriating other peoples' spouses, or even of giving a definite law and polity for a few scattered tribes of barbarous Arabians. We live in an age not inclined to go to the supernatural without cause corresponding, or when the natural is sufficient to explain things. And it will be seen

from the following account of Mahomed, the renegade Christian monk, and the Koran, that in it everything exactly meets the position and the details. And it may be said there is no other rational account that does meet them.

The history of Mahomed is very well known—we, of course, exempt therefrom the “traditions” of fond and enamoured followers. Mahomed was employed by the wealthy widow Khadijah as one of her overseers of trade *Kafilas* proceeding to Syria. Syria was then over-run with Arianism which denied the Divine “Word of God”—the Divinity of Christ; and peopled with monkish fraternities of Syrian and Armenian so-called Christians. Many of these brotherhoods’ monasteries were halting stages for the caravans of the wild Arabian tribes, and Mahomed, accordingly, came to hear of such elements of Christian Faith as were there really current, and to his plain common-sense, these appeared to be far superior to his own rude native idol-worship. Like our friend Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and like many another person in every land and every age, he felt “an inward call,” i.e., his inclinations moved in a particular direction—the said direction being to displace the worship of idols prevalent in Arabia, for that of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and of the Christians,—who had revealed His Faith by the Holy ancient Prophets and Apostles. He, Mahomed, however, had never acquired learning, nor had had any literary training, and to set forth a revelation to rival the inspired strains of the Hebrew Prophets was a task beyond his powers, unless he got some one to help him with production—*Suras*—embodying the revelation. With all the “tales” he had heard of the old Hebrew Prophets in the monasteries he had halted at, or of the elements of the Christian Faith then locally current, he also knew enough that his knowledge of them also was defective and incomplete. His “business”-like head at once formed the “plan of campaign,” and he got a renegade Syrian or Armenian monk to supply the “inspired” *Suras*. Many of these monks in Northern Arabia (Syria) were extremely learned in the language and literature of Arabia, and one of these he persuaded over, hiding him in the celebrated cave whence he (Mahomed) used to issue forth with his “inspired” *Chapters* given directly by the Archangel Gabriel, the said monk being the “Archangel.” There was water sufficient in a well in the cave, and food Mahomed himself managed to keep him privately supplied with. At last, when Mahomed began to meet with some success in his “Mission,” people began to be naturally very curious as to his visits to the cave and his interviews with the “Archangel.” In fact, there were “doubters and scoffers” even in Mecca—there were unreasonable people who even asked him to per-

form a miracle!—Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's time for that is yet to come—; and as the watching and prying became too close and unpleasant and risked discovery—this was when the earliest and best portion of the Koran had already been “revealed”—and the monk could not be got away secretly, Mahomed, by this time quite “advanced” in his “views,” saw no help for it but to “do away” with his unfortunate and wretched partner in the cave. He was either to do that and obviate discovery, or stand exposed as an arrant imposter. Between these very disagreeable alternatives he made up his mind to do what he did. Just when discovery became imminent, he paid his last visit to his unsuspecting “Archangel Gabriel,” and while conversing with him near the edge of the well, suddenly gave him a push, toppled him in into the “pit,” and while the poor wretch was drowning, followed up his action by throwing so much rubbish and stones after him as to completely cover him and end his misguided career. After this he was safe from discovery, and it will be found that after this, too, the high note of religious devotion and “inspiration” became absent from the *Suras*, which henceforth were his own plain, poor, very mundane, and laboured-out productions—such, indeed, as he himself could produce.

Such is the account given of the Origin of Koran, and of Mahomed's and the “Archangel Gabriel's” share in it; and the account is human, reasonable and natural, and fits into all the circumstances. It is an account that is firmly believed in by Oriental Christians, and is known also to some few Mahomedans who can only reject it with vile objurgations; and if Mirza Ghulam Ahmad will set himself to answer it, and to show to ordinary people of plain common-sense that Mahomed was not such as is therein set forth, and that the Koran was not the product of the renegade Christian monk, he will—we venture to say—prove himself to be even a greater than Mahomed! The idle tales and legends of the childhood of Christ, and the peculiarly Arian denial of the Divinity of the Saviour, as well as of His sufferings and Death on the Cross and subsequent Resurrection, which are incorporated in the Koran, will all be seen to be explained. That Mahomed did a great work in quenching—but it was *in blood*—the old idol-worship of Arabia is undoubted; that he was a “great” man is still more certain. He was the “Prophet of Arabia.” But that ~~he~~ ^{he} was anything more, or ever communed with “Archangels,” will never be believed in by the present questioning age, or by any enquiring and enlightened mind—no more than in Joe Smith's book of Mormon and pretended revelations produced under similarly asserted circumstances. Here is Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's paper:—

"THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS.

"A monthly Magazine of the above name has been started by the Anjuman-i-Isha'at-Islam, Qadian. Its objects are stated further on. It starts with the solution of the all-important question of 'How to get rid of the bondage of Sin' and expects to offer not only an impartial review of the various religions sifting truth from error, but also the solution of the vital questions for which religion exists and upon which it is founded. It further undertakes to refute all objections against Islam, the holy Quran and the noble Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, and for this purpose the editor shall be glad to receive all such objections for which sufficient grounds are stated, and an answer to these shall appear from time to time in the pages of the Magazine.

"We are further bound to state that in setting before us the grand and all-absorbing object of revolutionising the existing forms of religion, and in undertaking the tremendous responsibility of pointing out the true method for release from the bondage of sin and breathing into the seekers after truth the spirit which should invigorate them to act upon the principles of truth, we would have undertaken a task quite beyond our power or that of any other mortal, had it not been for the guidance vouchsafed to us in this matter by the All-wise and All-powerful God through the foundation of the heavenly Mission known as the Ahmadiyyah. This propaganda has been established by the hand of God in accordance with His eternal and unchangeable laws. A messenger has come from heaven when all eyes had been looking up to it in the expectations of his appearance. The prophets of God had spoken of this time, and the sacred writings gave the glad tidings of the holy man from the East in the latter days. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, whom God has chosen to be His Messiah, has come in fulfilment of the prophecies given to Jews, Christians and Muhammadans. Where and for what purpose this sun of righteousness has arisen, we shall state elsewhere. Here we wish only to point out that in almost every number of the Magazine we shall be able to give translations of his learned and masterly expositions of difficult religious questions.

"Contributions from the pens of other learned writers shall, however, not be excluded from its pages, and the editor shall feel obliged to receive contributions from all gentlemen, of whatever persuasions, who have any sympathy for the objects with which the Magazine is started.

"The Magazine shall be issued from Qadian on the 20th of every month from January 1902. It shall contain from about 40 to 50 pages of printed matter. The prospectus is issued as a

specimen. The annual subscription shall be for India Rs. 6 ; single copies, 8 annas ; for other countries the subscription shall be 8s. 6d. Intending subscribers should apply without delay, as the first number is going to press before the New Year. The first number shall be sent by V. P. Rort to subscribers who do not remit their subscription money with the application. Applications should be made and money orders made payable to the Manager, "The Review of Religions," Qadian, District Gurdaspur (India). Our Lahore agents are Rama Krishna & Sons, Anarkalli, Lahore.

THE OBJECTS OF THE MAGAZINE.

"Our object in starting "The Review of Religions" is twofold. Firstly, to draw the world to truth, viz., to teach true morals, to inculcate true beliefs, to disseminate true knowledge, and last, though not least, to make men act upon the principles of truth ordained. Secondly, to draw them with a magnetism so mighty in operation that it may create in them a power to act upon the doctrines taught. It is admitted on all hands and not to be treated with indifference, that mere knowledge of the virtues cannot make a man good. Want has always been felt, on the other hand, of the appearance in every age of a person who is naturally endowed with the power of drawing and electrifying other persons. Who is not aware that the founder of the religion which now has so large and highly-paid an episcopacy to build up the Church of Christ "from within, in the true faith of God, and in holiness of life," which is supported by thousands of philosophers, and which squanders wealth like water in employing millions of missionaries to gain fresh adherents, had none of these means, yet notwithstanding its plenty of resources, the absence of true magnetism which was the vital force in its conquest over sin in its founder's days, makes Christianity a dead log devoid of true worth. One would now in vain seek in Christian countries that purity of soul and righteousness of heart which the Gospel taught. The large cities of Europe and America are, to draw it mild, theatres where horrible and odious scenes of obscenity and debauchery are commonly represented. Were it possible for Jesus Christ to rise from among the dead and witness the state of the millions who call themselves the flock of Christ, it would indeed strike him with wonder that the generation of people whose lawlessness knows no bounds, who have abandoned themselves to demoralizing excesses and resigned themselves to passions of flesh, and who are overcharged with the cares of this world, go by his name and claim to follow in his footsteps. It cannot be denied then that the fold of Christ

to-day is walking in a path different from that in which it walked in the days when the presence of its holy keeper exercised its wholesome influence over it. What is the reason of this marked difference? What causes have led to this change for the worse? Why is it that the vast majority—almost all of the professing Christians, departing from paths of purity and righteousness, have taken to licentiousness, intemperance, luxury and bestiality? What has led the people who were told to “take no thought for the morrow,” and “lay not up treasures upon earth” to hanker after earthly advantage and the amassing of wealth? How are we to account for the depth of immorality and the existence of hundreds of thousands of harlots amongst a people whose Book contained the plain injunction “that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart?” Where are we to seek for that purity and chastity upon which Jesus laid so much stress? Is it in the people among whom the man who commits adultery with an unmarried woman is not deemed as guilty of a crime, but if he marries her he is a criminal? Is this the boasted morality of Christianity? Can the pure conscience of a man bear witness that this was the purport of Jesus’ teachings? Were the elect of God and the holy messengers of heaven, whom He appointed to teach truth and purity to generations of men, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David and Solomon, who stuck to polygamy to their very death, guilty in the sight of the Lord? Is the wholesale debauchery and excessive drinking of Christian Europe in accordance with what Jesus taught?

“Do Christians follow the injunctions of their Master who told them to turn the left cheek when smitten on the right? Are not these matters of the deepest concern? What is the wanting factor that the result is so different? What is the cause of the total failure of Christianity as a reforming agency? Is it not true that it is all owing to the absence of the holy personage who worked so wonderful a transformation in the apostles? Jesus, it is true, has not ascended to heaven, and his sacred body lies entombed* in the sacred dust of Khan Yar Street, in Srinagar, Cashmere, as we shall show elsewhere in the pages of the Magazine, but it is equally true that the magnetism—the transforming power which came with his person into the world—has long since disappeared and ascended to heavens. It is also written in the sacred writings that that magnetism shall once more descend upon earth in another manifestation which, on account of the identity of the motive

* The spiritual death of Christianity is important evidence of the death of its founder; for if Jesus is living why does not his influence work?

force, shall be looked upon as the second coming* of Messiah. But these are things to which only passing reference can be made here, their full discussion being reserved for another place. Here we wish only to point out that books are not sufficient to impress upon the heart moral and spiritual virtues, nor is power granted to a man for the performance of deeds of virtue through their sole agency. Release from the bondage of sin and the slavery of passion cannot also be effected by preachers who are themselves slaves to their passions, who go out preaching virtue and righteousness in the streets, but when alone in their homes, take a glass too much and lie intoxicated till late in the day. The fact is that none can inspire a heavenly life and enable human beings to soar to the heavens but he only who comes from heaven. Who sees can alone show to others, and who comes himself purified and transformed, can alone purify and transform the human race. The secret of God's existence is a deep one, and he only can break this seal who, cleansed of all impurities, leads a pure life. He again brings us face to face with the question, how to be enfranchised from the bondage of sin, and how to get out of the impurities of life? There is only one answer to this all-important question, *viz.*, that such a regeneration can only be effected by him who comes with a magnetism from heaven, who on account of the extreme purity of his soul and the surpassing cleanliness of his heart is metaphorically called a manifestation of the Deity, who removes the poisonous matters and gives the *elixir vitæ* in their stead, and who burns the carnal passions and low motives of worldly life and ennobles the soul with the pure and exalted divine morals. Look at the sun and the moon; each new day requires a new appearance of the glorious orb of light. The holy one that rose in the days of Pilate among the Jews was, no doubt, a sun of righteousness, but only so long as his magnetism attracted the hearts and his light worked a heavenly transformation in the souls of his followers. He is now a sun but one that has passed below the horizon. The radiant light which shone from his face and the brilliant lustre which he cast around him is shorn of its beams and grown quite obscure, not the least trace of it being visible among those that call themselves after his name.† The holy one that sheds such light is not and cannot be God, but there is no doubt that he is one with God and his soul is in constant and close communion with God. He is the fountain-source of the divine powers, and the rare and hidden manifestations of the powers of the

* The advent of John The Baptist was regarded as the second coming of Elias for that very reason.

† [Especially in the "*Pie.*"—ED., C.R.]

Almighty which are not generally disclosed, are revealed through him. Such persons are called the manifestations, incarnations and representatives of God. In the manifestation of the divine powers they sit on the throne of God's glory.

"God is one and without any partner or rival, but persons of this type, the elect of God, whom the world has seen, may be counted by thousands. We may see a single face reflected in a thousand looking glasses, and yet there are not really a thousand faces but only one face of which there are so many reflections. This world is a grand reflector; in other words, it is a palace of glasses for the reflection of the face of God and the face of Satan. God stands against some of the mirrors and therefore the image of God is seen in them. Against others Satan makes his appearance and his likeness is consequently witnessed in them. But from these reflections it should not be imagined that the images are so many different gods. There are thousands of the manifestations of God, and thousands of those of the Devil. To allow multiplicity in the manifestations of the evil one and to limit those of the Deity to a single one, is both irreverent and unjustifiable. God made Adam in His image and after His likeness, and the Prince of the Devils manifested himself in the person of Cain. The manifestations of the Deity and the Devil have since then been appearing in the world, and therefore it is unreasonable to assert that in the whole world and during all ages there has been but a single manifestation of God. Every age stands in need of new light and a new representative. Whenever this light grows dim in a people and the influence of a heavenly magnetiser is not felt among them, they bend down solely to the earth and its mean cares, and carried away by the current of carnal desires are drowned in a flood of sins and impurities, being unable to get out of it. History bears strong evidence to it. As already stated, the vast difference between the spiritual conditions of the followers of Christ among whom he lived and taught and the Christians of to-day, points to the same conclusion. With the death of the great Teacher and his apostles there came a change over the people; and as the distance of time from the great Founder increased, the faith in God gradually lessened and their moral condition became worse and worse. Such has been the lot of Christianity; and Islam, although in some respects it has fared better, presents a similar history. The mighty and powerful magnetism of the Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, not only ennobled the souls of his companions only so far as to make them bow to the glory of the eternal and living God

instead, of images and creatures and exchange their false religions for the truth concerning God, but at the same time breathed into them the soul which annihilated all their passions for and hankering after the world and its advantages.* They saw God and sacrificed their lives in His way with such zeal and resigned themselves so completely to His will that each one of them was an Abraham in his relation towards God. The great and noble deeds which they did with true sincerity, to declare the glory of the living God and blot out the false dignity of the images from the hearts of men, are unparalleled in the history of the world. Their sincerity was blessed by the Lord and achieved for them such successes in the conquest of the countries as even fire-arms are unable to do. When we consider, on the one hand, the darkness which spread over Arabia and the unbelief and image-worship which disgraced the whole country, and cast a glance, on the other, at the transformed peninsula and its sons after the companions of the prophet had done their part in the cause of their benighted countrymen, we are obliged to confess that a new spirit of truth and zeal had been breathed into them.

"The holy zeal and sanctity of the Prophet, may God pour His eternal blessings upon him, had exercised its saintly influence over them. They shunned every vice and transgression as if they stood in the awful presence of God's majesty. Their only ambition was to vie with one another in virtue and goodness. Such was the righteousness of the companions of the holy Prophet of Islam, and nearest to them in sanctity and virtue was the generation that followed them. Even the third generation, *i.e.*, the people who saw and learnt from the followers of the companions of the holy Prophet, was so pre-eminent in righteousness compared with the generality of the following generations that it could have hardly recognised them as following the precepts of Islam. What was the reason of this? The same that we have described in the case of the change that passed over Christianity. The time in which they lived was so remote from the time of the great magnetiser that they hardly felt the influence which had operated upon the companions, or those that were directly or indirectly their disciples, and hence they could not abide by the righteousness which so eminently distinguished the first three centuries of Islam. Notwithstanding this change that has passed over Islam, we evidently find the Muslims superior to the Christians in four respects. Firstly, they believe in the one living and true God, and do not worship or deify creatures. Secondly, intoxication which is the root of all evils and the great enemy of all good morals, is so rare among them that compared with the

wholesale drunkenness of Christian nations, they may be declared to be quite free from the pestilence. Thirdly, the great Christian vice of gambling is also comparatively rare among them. Fourthly, God has protected their men and women from the widespread of prostitution which forms a sad feature of the Christian communities. This difference is to be attributed to the appearance in different ages among the Muslims of such reformers as draw people to virtue. It is, however, true that in the intervals when such reformers were not to be found in their midst, their righteousness and love for God have also been on the wane.

"All these facts point to but one conclusion, *viz.*, that for the true reformation of the world it is of the first importance that when one great magnetiser has passed away from the world and on account of the remoteness of period his influence too is not felt over hearts, another magnetiser should appear to re-establish the influence which vanished away with the lapse of time, and to draw the souls of all those who unite themselves with him towards spiritual and moral progress in the same way as the steam-engine draws the carriages that are annexed to it. In short, this principle is the key to the guidance of mankind, and it is established by the combined evidence of all the prophets and messengers of God that regeneration can only be effected by one whom Heaven has granted the magnetism to draw all people into one society and one fold. He establishes and strengthens a twofold relation in them, *viz.*, (1) close communion with God and complete resignation to His will, and (2) mutual relationship which establishes a brotherhood among men in the true sense of the word.

"It is clear from these remarks that there must be some peculiarity in the person of the magnetiser who works a pure transformation among his followers and draws people towards truth by the power which nature has granted him. From the word of God we learn what that peculiarity is. It tells us that the man who guides people to the path of truth and virtue combines two excellences in his person. Firstly, his love towards God is so deep that his own personality is consumed in the fire of love, and the divine lights attract him within their own pale. His person becomes a manifestation of the divine attributes in the same way as iron under the heat of fire becomes like fire. The first stage is that in which his soul feeling aversion to the sensual worldly life is naturally inclined to get out of darkness. He therefore breaks off all bonds which could keep him united with darkness and removes every obstacle that could keep him away from God. His soul is freed from the trammels of earthly passion and cleansed of faithlessness, vanity, selfishness, the fear or hope of others

than God and regard for one's own ends when pretending to serve God, which is the root of all evils and low motives. Thus relieved of every weight and freed from every obstruction, his soul soars higher and higher towards its Creator, and flowing like a drop of water at last attains the desired proximity to that ocean of existence and is fully invested with the divine morals. The result of this complete union is that as God in his very nature loves man and provides for his good, so does the transformed and perfect man naturally love his fellow-beings and has at heart their well-being in this world and the next, and this is the second excellence which he possesses. For sympathy with man he is granted a simple heart free from cunning and craft. When he speaks, it is only out of sympathy for man and for his guidance, and not under the fear of losing or the vain desire of being able to sustain well a part in a religious controversy. He is granted the divine attributes of true Providence, Mercy and Justice. Divine morals are represented within him as a reflection, through the mirror of his pure and transparent nature. In this sense he really becomes a substitute or representative of God upon earth. When the perfect man reaches this stage, God who does not waste any energy or capacity in man, seeing in him the admirable qualities of sympathy and philanthropy, charges him with message towards the people that delivering them from sensuousness he may lead them to higher and spiritual life. The holy Quran refers to this in the verse *دنی فتدلی فکان قاب قوسین او ادنی* *i.e.*, the perfect man upon whom the revelation of the Quran was sent down became so near to God that vested with divine morals he was sent back with the mission of deliverance to the world, and as his nature was gifted in the highest degree with two forms of zeal, *viz.*, a zeal for the love of God, and a zeal for sympathy with mankind, therefore the chord of his soul fell within these two arcs. Like the chord which is common to two arcs, being semicircles, the holy Prophet of Islam occupies a position bearing the same relation to God as to man. His spiritual position is therefore intermediate between the Creator and the created.

"In brief, this is the real philosophy of God's sending His vicegerents upon earth. No prophet was ever charged by the Almighty with the message of reforming the world unless he had attained the perfection to which reference has above been made. The assertion that the prophets of God were themselves involved in sin and darkness and therefore not able to release others from the bondage of sin, is both erroneous and irreverent. Even worldly governments cannot take such a foolish step as to entrust the administration of a portion of their territory to incompetent and unprincipled governors who, instead of doing

anything for the welfare of the country, shall lead them to certain ruin by their evil example. If then worldly governments exercise their powers so judiciously in the selection of their officers, what is it but heresy to assert that the Almighty and All-wise Ruler of the Universe upon whose choice of a reformer hang the everlasting destinies of the human race, could not exercise even so much judiciousness in His selection as the weakest ruler upon earth? The truth is that earthly people do not know the man that comes from heaven, for he is not of this world. He is subjected to cavils from the blind, for the blind do not see him. As darkness is eternally hostile to light, it does not like that light should come into and illumine the corners of the world. The sons of darkness are up in arms against light, and after a great spiritual struggle light is victorious, and the overhanging clouds of darkness are dispelled.

"It must also be pointed out here that the divine law according to which the vicegerents of God have been appearing upon earth for the guidance of men is not a dead letter now. If it is true that God will now as He willed in time past that men should repent of evil and be righteous, we undoubtedly stand in need of an inspired reformer who, like the former prophets, has the magnetism to draw people to goodness, who possesses divine attributes, whose life stands out in purity eminently above others, whose teachings have the power to attract and who can show extraordinary signs.

Our object in this Magazine is to show—

- (1) who this inspired reformer is ;
- (2) what arguments and signs there are which support his claim ;
- (3) what is moral teachings are ;
- (4) what beliefs he inculcates and what he rejects ;
- (5) what truths and knowledge he has brought and in which of the divine books they are to be found ; and
- (6) what path he teaches for seeking union in God.

"Under these six heads falls the vast variety of the subjects to which the pages of the Magazine shall be devoted. Besides these it undertakes to refute every objection against Islam, the holy Quran, the holy Prophet Muhammad, may the blessings of God be upon him, and the great Reformer, the holy founder of the mission to which reference his above been made. It shall defend the cause of truth and oppose every false doctrine or erroneous teaching which is in violation of the rights of the Creator or the created." *

"CAWNPORE."

* We shall be happy to insert any reasonable (and not abusive) reply should the Mirza, or better Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, send us one to the preceding paper.—ED., C. R.

ART. X.—SIR SYED AHMED ; AND THE ALIGARH COLLEGE.

(EMINENT NATIVES I HAVE KNOWN.)

I.

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN'S name is a deservedly respected one among Mahomedans in India ; and I, who perhaps knew him better, and longer, than any one else in both his private life and his public work—in this the first of a series of papers on Eminent Natives of India—proceed to furnish the following details of his long career ; especially as exhibiting his character, and his connection with the College at Aligarh of which he is supposed to have been the founder—both of which have been much mis-understood, and of which the present generation are grossly ignorant.

Of the Syed class, and originally from Delhi, with the title of Moulvi—which is common enough—we find him first in the subordinate Government service. He was of an enquiring mind in matters of faith, and though he had no doubts of the truth of his Koran,—being especially a Syed—he was willing to extend his knowledge even if with the help of Christians. It was this willingness to learn even from Christians and Europeans, and this enquiring mind, which marked him off from his co-religionists in those early days after the Mutiny, and which attached European gentlemen of influence and position to him and, along with the natural desire to push himself forward, led to his subsequent prominence and advancement. In those days there were some leading Baptist Missionaries in the North-West, and one of these he induced to read over the Koran and the Bible with him, to understand their ground work, and to see wherein there may be anything objectionable in his own religion. For, it should be known, that the Mahomedans accept the Bible as the Revealed Word of God, only that they but too generally pass it over, and confine themselves to the Koran, which is not as it ought to be. Accordingly Moulvi Syed Ahmed, after such light and teaching as he had from the Baptist Missionary, set forth, in print, his own conclusions regarding the Koran. This was the beginning of his public career, or career before the public. There is no saying what might have been the result in him had he had for his expositor and guide a well-equipped Church of England Clergyman ;—it is quite possible that the Moulvi might have figured as a "Reverend." However that be, the publication of his notes and comments on the Koran roused a storm of

opposition against him among more bigoted co-religionists, who regarded him as a downright pervert. The result of this was that he became estranged from his own people, and set him still more in the way of European ideas and learning. He knew very little broken English, but he extended his knowledge so far as to know that English Christians were a reading people and thought much of "science." At that time there was a stir about new and improved methods of cultivation, and being stationed at Aligarh, he laid out two or three acres of ground to make such experiments in agriculture as were then in vogue in science. He had already possessed himself of a small press, where he had printed his comments on the Koran, and now began to issue stray leaves on his experiments. He thus became known as an earnest and striving man. Then, becoming known, he started a reading room, which, with the help of the surrounding native gentry, was expanded afterwards into the "Aligarh Scientific Institute," which still exists. This was next to his own modest Bungalow, where I used often to see him of an evening,—with his two fine boys standing one on each side of my chair,—for I naturally took an interest in the man who showed such evident signs of advancing himself and the district. It was my earnest desire in some way to bring him forward, the more so as though I worked and resided at distances even as great as Allahabad and Lahore, and even Bengal, I had the editorial charge of the *Weekly Gazette* which was issued in connection with the "Institute," and which was called the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, being the only "native" journal then published in the North-West.

Aligarh in those days was a very different, quiet and even rural, place to what it has now become. The native town and bazaars were pretty much the same, though even here these have been innovations. But on the Eastern side of the Railway line, it was almost an open plain. There were no Railway Bungalows and buildings, no high-level bridge, but only an ordinary level crossing, no spick-and-span Court-houses and Schools, no Church of England Mission or Workshops, and, of course, no Jubilee Memorial or the College in the distance; and I often found my way there for a quite time of it. It was on one of these occasions, and if I remember right—I have, however, the exact time—in June or July of 1866 that I earnestly discussed with the Syed some plan whereby he might be brought prominently forward to the favorable notice of the powers that were. "Education" even then was "in the air," and I had often told him that the system of English Government Colleges could never affect the life and mass of the people. To give the Moulvi due credit, though he had no ideas of his own on this or on many other subjects

that we, jointly, took up, he always agreed with me, wherein he showed his wisdom, and also his excellent spirit—of those days—of docility and child-like unquestioning faith and obedience. I had indoctrinated into him a reform in educational methods, and first I propounded it in the columns of the *Gazette* then, and after, in my editorial charge. I told him it would bring him forward if anything would, and he said he left it entirely in my hands and would do whatever I told him. During a whole year after that, I proceeded to indoctrinate the powers that then were with the same "True Education Policy for India," both from Lahore and Bengal in the Press, and afterwards published my views separately and sowed the pamphlet broadcast. The idea met with approval everywhere, from Sir John Lawrence the Viceroy down to the Director of Public Instruction in the North-West, then Mr. Kempson, and a public and official meeting was called in Agra to consider it. As it had first appeared in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, Syed Ahmed was also called to attend the meeting, and among others to formulate any definite plan he might have on the subject. This, of course, he had not, for he had not two ideas to rub one against another on such a high Educational matter, and though I was then nearly a thousand miles away, and extremely busy, he implored me to furnish him with the necessary details regarding the foundation, management, instruction, &c., of an Institution, College, or University, that would meet the requirements of the case. This I did at much sacrifice of my time, for I had not an hour to spare then. I remember it took me a whole week to think out and elaborate all the details so as to carry conviction and be successful both in my object and with Government, as well as the Native Community. This paper carried the day at the meeting, the support of Government was accorded and assured, and Syed Ahmed was directed to go about and collect subscriptions for the purpose. After that the erection and progress of the M. A. O. College, as it was called, are matters of well-known history ; only it is not known that in my scheme religion and religious worship were included, and the institution appealed equally to Mahomedans and Hindus. By the time sufficient subscriptions were collected, Syed Ahmed had become a man of some mark, with the effect of entertaining an opinion of his own, that there should be no religion, etc., in the College. At that time I had left India. On my return, after many years, I found the College both suffering in popular esteem from the exclusion of religion, and Hindus almost entirely absent from among the students, and told him he was unwise in having, if only in these particulars, departed from my plan. He was then again stationed in Aligarh, being on pension, but in a very much

larger Bungalow, and he drove me to and took me over the College—to “my” (not his) College”—as he termed it—his name, however, figuring at the gateway as “the Founder.” Then, and years subsequently, on the occasion of my visits to India,—he was still only a “Moulvi,”—I never lost the kindly feeling I had entertained towards him from the first when he was an unknown and unnoticed man, and helped him on still, and finally, saw Lord Dufferin confer on him the K.C.S.I. That—the M. A. O. College, and the being made a “Sir”—was the *finale* of my acquaintance with the docile, young and obedient young man who “left everything to me.” I found he had also sent his sons to be educated at Cambridge, and that the fine, happy and smiling boy who used to stand at my right hand on the occasion of my early visits to his father, had become a judge of the High Court of the North-West Provinces.

Sir Syed Ahmed has now been dead several years full of years and honour, and that fine, happy, smiling boy has retired on pension, and is grey, with no traces remaining of his early good looks and happy face; but I still am, and the very same I was forty years ago, though perhaps more grey and bald than I was then.

NOTE.—On the occasion of my very last visit to Aligarh, I was much disgusted by finding the College used mainly as a training ground for Mahomedan law students—entirely diverted from its true educational purpose!—and a false sentiment of loyalty to the Sultan of Turkey very much current. It was then, with my sanction, that the statement was set forth in *The Lucknow Advocate*, and references made in the *Indian Daily News* and other papers, as to some one else—a European and a Christian gentleman not the Syed—being the true Founder of the College. And as the Editor of this *Review* referred to the statement in the last issue, he allows me to furnish it here. Here it is:—

“We set forth below the true story of the origin of the College, so long attributed to, and quietly assumed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The things mentioned, happened thirty years, or a generation ago and will be quite new to the public of India, but they are quite true. Both Mr. A. (we shall call him here Mr. A.) and the Syed are still living, and the former will answer any call made on him in reference to this matter in these columns. He has the proofs, letters and papers, some of them in the Syed’s own hand-writing, and all in proper and indubitable form, and is able to produce them if required. It will now be seen what very scant title the Syed has to the name or honor of being the “Founder,” as he sets forth to each College. We believe he even takes care to set forth to each

new Viceroy a printed letter regarding the College, and of course himself as its Founder. To ignore the true originator, because he happened to be away for a quarter of a century from India, may square with the Syed's ideas of things, but we leave the Government and the public to judge for themselves whether it ought so to be.

"We now proceed with the facts. Mr. A., at the time a leading editor and journalist, and interested in the advancement of the natives through education, herein leading the way to the later efforts of Dr. Leitner in the Punjab, during a journey to Lahore, was induced to turn aside and see Moulvi Syed Ahmed at Aligarh, as the latter had started a small Gazette which he considered might—instead of containing jejune and ungrammatical paragraphs—be utilized in setting forth to the Government the objects and aspirations of the natives and the ways and means of promoting them. Mr. A. definitely and distinctly told the Syed that it would also mean advancement to himself (he was then only a Subordinate Officer in the service), and that the first thing to be taken in hand was the matter of education, real and true education, and not the partial and sectional thing so often seen. The Syed could only assent to what Mr. A. said, for he himself had not many ideas of his own. This was in June or July 1866. Mr. A. then and there wrote out his views on "A True Educational Policy for India" and published them as a "leader" in the *Aligarh Gazette* aforesaid, and pursued his way to Lahore. In those days the old and only Punjab paper, the *Lahore Chronicle*, both from its own merits and from Sir John Lawrence being the Governor-General, and at the time at Simla, held a very high and leading position, and Mr. A. at once followed up the paper in the *Aligarh Gazette* by reproducing it bodily in the *Lahore Chronicle*. This, of course, attracted considerable attention, the more so, as a gentleman of then the highest reputation in India as an educationist, the late General W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D., at the time Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah and Fort William College Calcutta, was known to be associated with Mr. A. It will be noticed in Graham's fulsome life of the Syed, that he, the former, states distinctly in it that he saw the Syed in the early part of the year, and then the Syed never had any idea of a College, whereas later in the year he, the said Mr. Graham, was surprised to find that the Syed was full of it, and thinks it very unaccountable. The above plain statement will explain the Syed's silence in April or May when Graham saw him and his being full of it at a later period. It does seem very strange that even then the Syed should have carefully concealed the authorship of Mr. A. and his efforts.

"But Mr. A. having once taken up the subject, pursued it

still further, and next year had the same paper reproduced in another journal in Bengal, a paper of influence second to none, and of which it was said that it was the only Indian newspaper that was suffered to lie on the private (domestic) drawing-room table of the Viceroy and the Bishop. The reasons being that it excluded all quack and dubious advertisements, and all police and criminal and adultery reports, and at the same time maintained a high tone of Christian faith. Immediately after reproducing it in this journal, Mr. A. printed a pamphlet, and incorporated his previous remarks in it, on the subject, at his own expense, and furnished copies of it throughout India to the leading high officials from the Viceroy downwards to the Directors of Public Instruction, and to the leaders of public opinion, European as well as natives. This was at a time exceeding a year from the original paper by Mr. A. in the *Aligarh Gazette* and this long continued agitation in the most diverse organs of public opinion from the *Aligarh Gazette*, a native paper, through the *Lahore Chronicle*, a strong official paper, to the———an independent European organ—and the general talk about it induced Sir John Lawrence and the then Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, to move in the matter, and see if anything could be done in the direction indicated in the pamphlet. In all this bringing the matter to a head—the original idea, the repeated re-publication everywhere of it, and the dissemination of the pamphlet, will be seen there is no mention at all of the Syed, nor need there be, for he had nothing to do with them.

“The Official *fiat* having gone forth, the Director of Public Instruction of the North-Western Provinces called a public meeting, we believe it was at Agra, but this can be determined easily if required, for the original printed notice of it is available with all the other papers, letters, pamphlet, etc., of native gentlemen of prominence, to set forth their views of how best to carry out practically the plan recommended in the pamphlet. Moulvi Syed Ahmed received one of these circulars, as was only fitting, considering that Mr. A. first broached the subject in the *Aligarh Gazette*. The Moulvi, however, as he had not conceived the subject, had neither two ideas to put together on it, Mr. A. was far away on the borders of Bengal at the time and laboriously engaged in occupations that took up all his time. The Moulvi, however, urgently appealed to him to come to his aid with some practical and well-thought-out scheme that would carry out his (Mr. A's) views. Else, the Moulvi said, he would be dreadfully let down at the proposed Conference. Mr. A. met this appeal made to him, and sketched out the *Original Plan of an Oriental College in every the minutest detail*; and forwarded this paper to the Syed. Armed with it,

he appeared at the Conference ; and this was his *first* appearance in public in any connection as regards the College ; and it will be seen he was only the mouthpiece of Mr. A.

"As may be inferred from all that has been stated above, and Mr. A.'s then great influence, *this plan of his carried the day at the Conference*, and effect was to be given to it at once, Government coming forward liberally to contribute to the expenses, and the Moulvi, now well patted on the back and smiled on,—desired to make collections of private Raises towards the desired object. This he proceeded to do ; and in meantime Mr. A. left India.

"The above plain, and unvarnished, true tale will show who was the real and original Founder ; and what right and title the Syed (who even got his Knighthood from it) has to be being so-called. He never had two ideas of his own on the subject—nor could he possibly have had them. He was merely a Collector of private contributions, just as much as any other paid Collector of any other institution—for, in truth, he got his pay for it, though not in money.

"As we have said, the original and true author of the College is now in India, Mr. A., but he has been perfectly astonished at the cool way the Syed assumes to himself the origin of the College,—which might perhaps be overlooked even though Government should be apprised of the true fact,—and heartily and painfully aggrieved at finding his noble plan of Oriental Education, carried through by him even at his own private expense and at such labour and pains, and so largely assisted by Government, converted into a mere machine for turning out Mussalman pleaders, vakils, tahsildars and Court amlah.

"It is for these reasons that he now comes forward with an *exposé* of the truth, and hopes that Government at least will refrain from thus throwing away its money and even perpetrating an injustice to its Hindu subjects. Sir Antony Macdonell will doubtless see to it. (*Communicated.*)"

The above statement was prefaced by the Editor with the following lines :—

"* * We give prominent insertion to the following contribution from a European friend. It deals with facts, the correctness of which may be questioned. The writer gives here one side of the story which he is ready to prove by public documents. If there be another side widely different from the one presented to-day, that side will also find expression through our columns.—*Editor.*"

It is needless to say that the challenge thus thrown forward was never met—there was no "other side." The *Lucknow Advocate* was then, and perhaps is still, the leading native paper of greatest influence in Oudh and the 'N.-W. P., and a

copy of it was specially sent to the Syed. The statement was published in a native paper for the natives to see it; as the matter concerned them,—and it was headed by the Editor :—“The True Origin of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh : A REVELATION,” as it was ! It will have been abundantly seen from my previous lines about the Syed's career that there is no tinge of private feeling one way or other, and the same may be said of the following summary of his character, which should be known if only to instruct his fellow religionists and urge them on :—

Three persons helped to mould him :—A Baptist Missionary in regard to his ideas about the Koran and the Bible.

2. Mr. Graham, socially, and in regard to knowledge of European ways.

3. The present writer in regard to ideas for the public good, progress, etc.

The elements in him which brought him on were :—

1. An enquiring mind.
2. Docility—which is also humility.
3. Following up good ideas.
4. A free and generous heart.
5. Personal self-seeking or—Ambition.

Per Contra

1. He had little spirituality—not even fanaticism.
2. He used a popular mistake to further himself.
3. Latterly—vanity.

In private life he was very warm-hearted.

“ALIGARH.”

[If there have been hitherto doubts about the Origin and True Founder of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, this paper will set them at rest for ever. All the documents, letters, etc., to prove the statements made in it have been placed with us, and are open to any notary public for inspection.—ED., C. R.]

ART. XI.—THE BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA.

THE close of Dr. Welldon's episcopate affords us an opportunity of passing under a brief review the prelates—mostly all eminent men—who have, up to the present, filled the see of Calcutta. As a see, it yields an importance to none—not even in England. As vast in mere extent; with an alien Government standing in a paternal and tolerant relation to its varied and immense populations; with mixed populations of Europeans and varieties of Native Christians, and also Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Moslems and others; it must ever be considered a most important spiritual charge. Hence, the Home Government has always shown an excellent selection of eminent men and scholars to occupy the post. With the exception of one or two, they have been all eminent, and all have worthily adorned their exalted and responsible position. In all, from near the beginning of the last century there have been nine Bishops. Their names are Middleton, James, Heber, Turner, Wilson, Cotton, Milman, Johnson and Welldon. At a time not long ago, with Bishop Wilson, all India constituted one diocese, and India then extended to the Straits Settlements, and Bishop Wilson had Ceylon too. Indeed, his spiritual rule extended even beyond the Straits and Ceylon—to Borneo and Australia! And worthily and indefatigably the good, able, and single-eyed man fulfilled all his arduous duties over this enormous extent of the globe. But we are anticipating.

Let us premise before we take up each Bishop in succession, that there never was raised any question of the Bishops of Calcutta “interfering” with the Hindu or any other Asiatic Faith. It is only lately that we have seen this false and wicked,—we had almost said malicious—charge, laid against the last eminent holder of the see, and that by only one very peculiarly-conducted journal. We need say nothing further in regard to this, than that no native of any position, influence, note, or education—and as for the vast mass they never think a thought on such a subject—believes that Government *as* Government, will, or can, “interfere” in religion, *as* religion. As for Bishops, natives recognise them as nobodies in the political world—mere “spiritual” chiefs. The cry is now and then raised of “neutrality” in religion, “interference” and the like, only by some few for private personal or interested motives—besides carrying an appearance of being smart—and is well understood by the natives themselves to be mere *bunkum*. And the one English journal, above referred to, lends

itself to the cry merely to impose on the public and the ignorant at home—in effect, to enact a lying farce. The press and public at home should know this well.

The first Bishop was Dr. Middleton. He was a great Greek Scholar and had written a work on *The Greek Article* which brought out its true force and character, and at the same time cut at the root of the Socinian heresy of the denial of the Divinity of our Lord. The work is essential to the study of Greek, and still holds its place in the libraries of scholars. Dr. Middleton would assuredly have obtained an English Bishopric had he stayed at home. He chose, however, to accept the call, the first Government *cum* Missionary Bishop to India. His portrait shows him to have been a man of culture and gentleness, and the work he did, proves him to have been able and fully worthy of his high post. He had far-reaching views for the Church in India. He not only attended to his ordinary current official (Government) duties, but had worthy coadjutors in chaplains like Dr. Buchanan to make enquiries into the Native and Syrian Churches of South India, and laid the foundations of the first Missionary College—called Bishop's College—near Calcutta, which subsequently rose to the noblest pile of collegiate buildings India has yet seen—those near the Royal Botanical Gardens, but now converted to a secular use. Worthily and well, as we have said, wisely and surely, Bishop Middleton did his work, which he, untimely—like so many others of the Calcutta Bishops—laid down with his life. He had a sunstroke while taking an evening drive at 6 P.M. in his open carriage, and he died of it.

His successor was Bishop James, scholarly after another kind. In those days the "scepticism" in regard to religion which came to a head afterwards, was just beginning to show itself in society, and James wrote a work called the *Semi-Sceptic* which at once marked him for a profound logician and thinker, and he was rewarded with the see of Calcutta. His episcopate, however, was very brief, and he did not live long enough to add to anything his predecessor had done.

He was succeeded by the gentle, inimitable, loving and loveable, scholar and poet, the rapt "sweet-singer of Israel," Heber. Of course, he would have had any Bishopric open to him at home, but he who could write "Greenland's icy mountains" found his proper place on "India's coral strand," and for many years he not only visited his extensive diocese, but commended to all round the pure and loving, gentle and peaceful, faith of his Saviour. He also worked hard himself in Bishop's College, then under the great scholar, Dr. Mill, and endowed numerous scholarships in it, which have been the means of educating and sending forth numerous missionaries and scholars

into all parts of India, and even into countries far distant. His views of India, its men, manners, and institutions were particularly sensible and true, as may be seen from the two volumes of interesting narratives of his travels in various parts. His—also untimely, and most melancholy and sudden—death, while in a bath in Trichinopoly, is too well-known to be repeated here, and he early—to the great loss of India and the Church—was admitted to that “City of God” of which he had previously sung in such noble, rapt, and ringing strains.

After Heber, came Turner, who, after a few months, resigned and went home, to be succeeded by the prince of the whole series.

Bishop Daniel Wilson, whose episcopate was the longest as it was the most fruitful of expansion of the Church in India, arrived here in middle age. He was not noted for scholarship or learning, but for what was even better, an earnest, active, and living devotion to his Saviour and entire sacrifice to His service. His preaching powers were also immense, and he used to hold spell-bound the largest congregations in his Church in London. But he was, further, eminently practical. In fact, though we knew him intimately, his character was, we may say, so very remarkable, and so completely *livingly* Christian, that we find ourselves unable to describe him adequately. He was always earnest, kind, and leading men to the *Redeeming Blood* of Christ. He worked very hard, and was always making the round of his great diocese, at one time going even to Singapore. (Afterwards he consecrated in the Cathedral—St. Paul’s—which had been built with funds mainly supplied by him—for he possessed ample wealth—the first Bishop, Dr. Macdougall, of Labuan and Sarawak in Borneo.) “Political expediency” never troubled him when in the service of his Saviour, and he could rebuke “Kings”—Governors-General—to their face if necessary. (And also his own Archdeacons in open Church!) He even went out of his line and helped in useful secular undertakings, and was the real founder of rapid mail communication between India and England. And with all his vast and varied labours, he found time to write a number of the most useful and valuable works on the *Evidences of Christianity* in 2 vols., *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians*, and others, which may still be studied with profit. He was an earnest enemy, and one of the stoutest and most prominent opposers of the then new Tractarian movement of Oxford, which succeeded afterwards in quenching the Evangelical Revival of the Church of England, and is now represented by an aimless and lifeless Ritualism on the one part, and “broad” infidelity on the other. Bishop Wilson combatted Tractarianism and *Priestism* as hiding, covering, and doing away with the One and True, Great

High Priest's work and His Personal relations with every believer. He even found time whenever in Calcutta, to take classes in Bishop's College, like his predecessor Heber. Altogether he was a most wonderful man for his natural powers, his varied ability and knowledge, his earnestness, and his single-eyed devotion to the work of bringing souls to their Saviour. He lived to a patriarchal age, dying after an extended episcopate when past eighty—also by an accident. He had a fall in his own "Palace," and in the language of Scripture he "gave up the ghost" and "was buried with his fathers" within the altar-rails of his own Cathedral—a noble monument of the prince and greatest of the Indian Bishops. His picture hangs in the Calcutta Town Hall. During his period, the Bishoprics of Madras, Colombo and Bombay—and it may be others—were formed. The operations of the Church, too, whether Governmental or Missionary, were extended in every direction from Peshawar to Pegu, and Cashmere to Comorin. He was held in great and deserved respect not only by Government both here and home, but by every denomination of Christians, whether Dissenters or others. The then budding—budding in India—Tractarians feared and dreaded his scathing and powerful exposures. He was, in fact, not only the Bishop of the Church, but the Head of all the Christians of India.

He was succeeded by the wise, gentle, and saintly Cotton, Head Master of Marlborough College. Dr. Cotton had many of his old pupils out in India in the services; and was an influence for good and for Christ, wherever he went. He, too, was indefatigable in travelling about, though not endowed with the naturally vigorous constitution of his predecessor. He was scholarly, and, we add with some little pleasure, set some store on the writer of this paper, our articles, whether in religious or secular papers and journals (for he wrote also for the then most able secular press which, notwithstanding Mr. Skrine's ignorant and impudent assertion to the contrary, stood then at a higher plane in every respect than it has ever done since even with Mr. W. W. Hunter's aid) often appearing side by side with his. Had, too, the present writer, listened to Dr. Cotton, it is possible that Keshub Chunder Sen, who afterwards bloomed into the Founder of Brahmoism, and whom we knew well, would have become a Christian Apostle, and the current of Brahmoistic thought diverted to Christianity. Bishop Cotton, too, had far-reaching views for the infant Church of India; and while opening new Missions in every province in his then contracted diocese, from Assam to the Gond Wilds, he set on foot and established the splendid European Hill Schools, which bear his name for the domiciled and country-born community. If our memory serves us right, he even established

a "City Mission" in Allahabad, then over-run with loafers and poor Europeans, and, also, even explored the depths of the *Kintals*—the back slums—of Calcutta. Peace and a worthy fame rest with his name, and he will probably never be forgotten in India as one of its truest benefactors. He also died untimely and suddenly of an accident. In the dark he slipped on a foot-plank connecting a river-steamer with the shore at Goalundo, and his body was never again found. He was so universally loved and respected, that a mournfully-chill sensation was felt all over India when the news spread that he was so suddenly and almost mysteriously taken away in the dark, and his body even not recovered. He wrote a *Commentary on Job*, one of the confessedly difficult books of the Bible, which showed the trace of a considerable degree of scholarship.

After Cotton came Dr. Milman, who only got his position through his name, being nearly related to the eminent historian Dean Milman. He was an earnest *Churchman*. He was nowhere as a scholar. We believe other bishoprics were also established in his time. In his judgment he was often very and unmistakably wrong. For instance, it was at his recommendation that Bishop's College, hallowed by associations of the learned Middleton, the saintly Heber, the earnest Wilson, and Doctors Mill and Kay, and which was a nursery for Missionaries, Chaplains, and School-masters, was abolished. The splendid ecclesiastical pile of buildings, in the best site in or near Calcutta, was sold to Government for a mere trifle for an Engineering College—the "College," or its "remains" rather, being moved into an ordinary mean building near the Bishop's own residence on the Calcutta side of the river in order that he may the better go and see it—and an inferior class of work taken up. He was, unfortunately, troubled with a painful disorder all his life. Another point showing presumption, as well as an extremely weak judgment,—we might almost say miserable and inexcusable jealousy,—was his passing an unfavourable opinion on Dr. Kay's previous work in Bishop's College—Dr. Kay having before refused the bishopric of Calcutta, and other home bishoprics, and at the time being in England regarded, and truly, as about the highest pillar of learning in the English Church! It was like a flea trying to bite an elephant. However, peace rest with him, for both he and Dr. Kay are now in the grave. Dr. Milman, we believe, did not end his life either untimely, or by an accident, and had an episcopate of average length.

Johnson, an Archdeacon of Chester, was the next Bishop; why, or how he came to be offered such a high appointment is a mystery. He continued long enough in the country to establish some minor bishoprics; to see, the Methodist Missions

succeed and almost oust the Church of England Missions ; and to disgust the entire numerous and powerful body of Dissenters with him and the Church he represented. He then retired home and "took unto himself a wife" after declaring here that his days for such frivolities were over ! While for the succeeding appointment of Dr. Welldon, Lord Curzon was unquestionably responsible, there can be little doubt that for his mistaken views of Europeans in India,—which he subsequently considerably modified,—he had Bishop Johnson for his "coach," and this latter accordingly has to bear the odium that fell on Dr. Welldon for false impressions of the country.

Dr. Welldon, the last of the number of Bishops of Calcutta, and who has just left us, was the Head Master of Harrow, and a fast friend of the young, impetuous and thoughtless Lord Curzon, whom his colleagues in the Home Ministry had dismissed by sending him to India. The two came out together full of enthusiasm each for his own work and in his own line. Bishop Welldon, whose learning was well known as the translator of Aristotle, soon won the affections of the entire body of Christians, both Churchmen and Dissenters, and afforded every promise of a useful, long, and successful episcopate. Early, however, it was made manifest that his constitution was unsuited to India, and for the two or three years he stayed here he had to retire to the hills in summer. Then, while travelling in South India and Ceylon he contracted a malarious fever, which compelled him first to take leave home and then retire. He has been appointed a Canon of Westminster by King Edward, and will probably in time get a home bishopric. We believe his interest in the conversion of India to Christ will continue.

"LAYMAN."

ART. XII.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

[We have been favoured by a South African who saw the article on the "Settlement of South Africa" in our last July number with the following paper on the subject.—ED., *C. R.*]

HOW to soften the blow, how best to hold out the olive branch of peace to such men as are the Boers, is not the work of a Military General, and he, too, flushed with conquest, nor of a Secretary of State thousands of miles away in England and who has no practical knowledge of Boer populations. It is useless—nay, it is worse than useless, it is positively mischievous for any one to speak of Military rule, Crown Colony Government and then, if the Boers behaved themselves, self-Government, just as if we were not speaking to a high-spirited nation suffering under every loss that can make life worth living, but to a pack of school boys or Cingalese. A whole nation, so to speak, deprived of their birth-right of independence; a fierce, stubborn and fighting race; and mostly very ignorant; have to be dealt with; and it requires, under all the circumstances, special knowledge and special wisdom—we had almost said special grace—to deal with them. That is, to deal with them so that they will give up their opposition, and join heartily in their future career as portions of the great British Empire. Let us see, then, how it is possible this may be accomplished. As we have said, it will not be done by a Military General, or by Military rule—by hectoring, dragooning, threatening and bullying; confiscations and the like. Such things may be good enough for Asiatics—not even for all Asiatics. The work must be entrusted to Civilians, and, if possible, to those on the spot. The hopelessness of resistance must be fully demonstrated by the continued presence of large Military garrisons; and at the same time, without the interval put forth by Mr. Chamberlain, and even by such a pronounced Liberal as Lord Brassey, of a Crown Colony Government. This would be of the nature of continuing a bad open sore; and we may add, it would be a measure unsuited to the character and genius of the people. Let the people see that though their flag is gone, they have still their old home and election rights, even though an English Governor or President sits at the head of their Council table. And for all the purposes of Government their own administrative organisation, which has become a portion of their nature, should be left to them as suiting them best. As we have said, this granting of self-

governing rights, with the continuance of their own administrative modes, should be conferred on them at the earliest moment, or at once. It will be found that they will soon settle themselves down peacefully under the new conditions which, however, to them will not present any novelty, being the old ones under a British authority. The Government will be British, the Army and garrisons British, but the people—Dutch, French, British who constitute the Boer population—will order and rule their home matters for themselves. And it would be easy, in regard to the Upper House to have in it a numerical majority of the higher and better educated Boers who value and hold to the British rule, in order to checkmate any wild measures of the Lower House. We trust every one will see the inadvisability of pure Military rule, or of a Crown Colony Government, to “settle” the two Boer States or Colonies. Civilians should at once appear on the scene; and the way—only possible way—for them to deal satisfactorily with the great question, one on which the future of South Africa if not of the Empire depends, is the one we have indicated above. It would be too much, perhaps, to expect Mr. Chamberlain to call in the assistance and advice of his political enemies—men like the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. James Bryce, Lord Brassey, and one or two others, to form an Advisory Commission for the Settlement of South Africa; but the matter is a national and not a party one, and it is one of the greatest importance; and it is not too much to hope that the wisest and most moderate men, along with Lord Milner and Sir Hely-Hutchinson—men on the spot—should be joined together to settle it. Precipitancy, theories, and haste will be avoided, and even the Boers themselves will admit that we wish to do the right thing by them—not being vindictive, but, rather wishing to unite them into one with us, while leaving them every liberty.*

“SOUTH AFRICA.”

*[Since the above we see that Sir J. Jardine advises the same course. In a late speech at Hawick, after referring to the cruelties practiced in Scotland, he says:—“How were these memories overcome in the case of Scotland? Simply by treating the Scots as a free nation to be freely united with England. Let us then contrive some scheme of conciliation, now that even Cape Colony had become the theatre of war, and that martial law was extended to all its seaports. Let us, as Mr. T. Shaw, M.P., proposed, have a commission with some great statesman, some past Viceroy of India, say, as Chairman, to study some way of bringing this war to an honorable close. Let Lord Kitchener have a voice in it, and see whether his scheme might not be better than any which Mr. Chamberlain had framed.”—Ed., C. R.]

ART. XIII.—THE PLACE OF ELOCUTION IN CULTURE.

THERE is no good that has not its attendant evil. The truth of this is generally recognised and our every day-life will suggest to us many instances of it. So too, public agitation in this country, whatever the end, though good in itself, is not without a dark side to it. It has put into the minds of many young men, otherwise excellent, the idea that a glib tongue is a *sine qua non* for public recognition. The result is a large manufacture of prigs. Prig is another name for bore and a bore has been defined as one who intrudes himself upon others without the least concern for their feelings. This evil forces itself upon one's notice wherever a handful of young men assemble either to attend a meeting or discuss a topic. Hackneyed phrases and quotations, a cloud of words conveying little or no sense, studied gestures oftentimes savouring of the ludicrous ; all these are so many proofs of its existence. If it were confined to young men, there is no need to be anxious about it nor is it difficult to root it out. But those who can lay claim to some culture and whose example is eagerly copied by the young, are not free from it. Even practical England does not seem to have escaped its grip. What the late Prof. Huxley once wrote warrants this assumption. He wrote "that mellifluous eloquence, leads far more surely than worth, capacity or honest work to the highest places in church and state." Whether in India or in England, this vice, if left unchecked, will end in undue importance being given to what is called the 'gift of the gab,' while true merit and solid culture will remain unnoticed. It is true, what distinguishes a man from the rest of the creation is his power of expression. As Dr. Channing says, "a man of more than ordinary intellectual vigour, may, for want of expression, be a cipher without significance in society." The power of distinct utterance of one's thoughts, is indeed, necessary, but to labour at it, at the expense of everything else, is to cultivate a part without harmony in the whole. It is also true that in the past ages as in the present, tongue athletes made great noise in the world and loomed large before it. This was inevitable in days when men left the trouble of thinking to a few and contended themselves with doing their bidding. But now, when the average intelligence has gone up, and as a consequence hero-worship has gone down a little, the triumph of the mere orator is on the decline. Yet the folly of overrating the virtues of the tongue is holding up its head in unsuspected corners and

stout lungs push their way to the front. If intellectual development in its richest diversity is what culture is and ought to be, then it is well to fix a place for elocution in it. Elocution has been defined as the art of speaking with grace, suitable gestures, intonation and the rest of the lot. It requires steady effort and unwearied cultivation till one is dubbed a perfect elocutionist. Naturally, one is at greater pains to learn how he says a thing than what he says—which is more important. Art subdues nature and machine takes the place of man. In a word, the substance is lost in the shadow. Indignation that is a fortnight old, is made to appear as anger of the moment. Telling sentences of regulated length and rehearsed over how many times no one knows, are palmed off as happy ideas and inspired thoughts of the hour. The audience cheers the orator to the echo and the curtain falls on what is nothing more than a dramatic performance. The effect is only what it can be. Everybody is loud in his praises of the orator's personality, his marvellous memory, the volume of his voice and of everything except the subject about which he thundered. This is neither intellectual worth nor moral dignity. It tickles the vanity of the speaker while his hearers are not the wiser for the show. It is contended that suitable gestures add to the effect of a speech. This means that the speech by itself is not effective enough. It wants the mechanical aid of the hand. We don't prize a wooden leg because it helps a cripple to walk and rate it above the natural one. The tongue is the seat of expression. If so, the aid of the hand is either superfluous or supplies a defect. Superfluity in anything one ought to avoid, and the defect must be made good by improving the power of the tongue itself. Again motions of the body in speaking are not a sign of culture. Animals which are denied the power of using their tongue express themselves by mere gestures. They shake their horns or lash their tails and communicate their wants in similar ways. Take the savage or man in lowest scale of civilization. He does not speak a word without following it up by an expressive gesture. Or even take civilized men when moved to anger. Anger is an abnormal mood in man. It makes him lose his self-control and fairly approach the savage. Then he violently sways his body and limbs to and fro. Thus it will be seen that all extraneous aid shows only defect and not perfection in speech.

Now, those who have talked most are not those who have contributed much to contemporary thought and literature. Great thinkers have seldom been renowned as speakers. Perhaps the contrary is true. The seclusion of the scholar's closet has done greater service to humanity than the ring of the platform. English Literature is full of such instances. Goldsmith

talked like poor poll, Addison conceived without holding forth anything. Burke holds his place in Literature more by his calm and sober writings on political philosophy than by his flowery rhetoric and high-flown speeches. It is a notorious fact that Burke's rising to speak in the House of Commons was invariably a signal for members to quit their benches and attend to their creature comforts. 'He went on refining ; and thought of convincing, while they thought of dining.' The worth of English Literature will greatly suffer by the absence of masters like Goldsmith and Addison. Yet their oratorical accomplishments neared the freezing point. Who can say that if Burke had not paid so much attention to his speeches, his would not have become a greater name in Literature? The fact is that flights of fancy which are hand-maids to oratory are stepmothers to solid culture. Their presence stunts its growth and cultivating them is to sap its life. Thus, it will be seen that elocution does not necessarily form a part of culture, but on the contrary impedes its growth and limits the scope of its usefulness. In India, especially, it will do more harm than good. The fascination of a foreign tongue is great. We are carried away by the glitter of its words and the glamour of its rhetoric. We care more to speak sentences than sense. Add to this, we are as a nation imaginative. When imagination runs riot, there is no knowing what it will say and will not. Direct and sober expression of one's thoughts is out of the question. What we need as Hindus, is very much less of imagination and a great deal more of solid thought. As men in general and Hindus in particular, our aim must be real culture and elocution in any case will not help us much in acquiring it. If graceful speech is a sign of culture, as it undoubtedly is, then in cultivating it we can do no better than lay to our hearts the words of the poet—

'If to your heart, your tongue be true
Why hunt for words with much ado?'

S. M. RAJARAM RAO.

ART. XIV.—THE MODERN MONKEY GOSPEL. FIRST PAPER.*

"I the Lord will answer him according to his idols : " *Ezekiel.*

"They shall turn away their ears from the truth, and be turned into abels : " *St. Paul.*

THESE divinely-inspired writers view the evil from its root. Even St. Paul's "itching ears" may be assumed to be due to sin, and instability of character, which again, may be traced to sin. But we may be permitted to ascribe other causes, such as want of a thorough grounding in logic, a lop-sided growth, and the repetition of "vain" words or the use and blind acceptance of a bad currency (of words)—all which may be included in one, that is, ignorance. Ignorance may not amount to a wilful "turning away from the truth ;" but people who undertake to talk about such high matters, should themselves know that they ought to be, at least, intellectually qualified. What should we think of a "layman" coming forward to insist there is no such ailment as plague, or a person ignorant of figures to assert there is no science of astronomy? It is presumption in the highest degree, and in a matter like this, in effect, rises from sin and unbelief. The Modern Monkey Gospel means simply a denial of the Bible, Revelation and Redemption.

The quarrel is an old one between two parties : one deals with existing facts and sets forth the one and only true view of man's creation, existence, fall and redemption, and hence worthily called the *Gospel* ; the other deals with fancies and "fables" and sets forth man as "evolved" from monkeys—from "primordial ooze"—with the moral responsibility and destiny of monkeys, that is, of matter, pure and simple. The idea (of "evolution") seems to be grounded on the uniformity of cell-growth and all animals being formed on the same basis or plan, which—as an adhumbration of the Coming Son of GOD, Who was the Former as well as the Archetype of Creation—making man in His Own Image—was prominently brought before the "lay" public last century, by Hugh Miller in his *Testimony of the Rocks*, and from which, *twisting it the other way*, the so-called disciples of Darwin have derived their fatuous idea.

It may be remarked before we pass on, that even if man "evolved" from a monkey, and monkeys from gnats, and

*[We set aside our own paper for this one which has come in subsequently. Our own paper deals differently with the subject and will appear in our next number.—ED., C. R.]

gnats from newts and fish, and animals from plants, and plants from one sole and irreducible original cell in the ooze—all which, we need not add, are pure assumptions, besides, what about the "ooze" itself, that is, *matter*?—man would still remain with the "Stars of GOD" crowning him, the soles of his feet only touching the "earth," and the Gospel would still mean Renewal, Peace, Purity, Love, Faith, Goodness, and Moral Beauty: the Son of GOD would remain the Son of GOD, Spirit Spirit, the monkey would remain the monkey, and matter matter. GOD and His Word simply cannot be dethroned or displaced under any view, whatever and however mistaken.

A few even high scientific names have been unequal or lopsided in their mental development—not minding what the Poet writes—

" Let knowledge grow from more to more ,
But more of reverence in us dwell "—

and have made startling assertions without the least proof, being obliged to their shame subsequently to eat their words—Huxley, Haeckel and others. These have been the originators of the modern " Fairy Tales of Science," termed by St. Paul " profane and old wives' fables."

In a matter like this, which affects our character, happiness and comfort, our very being, our present and future, there is the more need to be careful in receiving new theories, inasmuch as old, universal, and well-supported and acknowledged facts established from the beginning and in continuous and present existence, have to be cast aside. Such are the Seventh Day of Rest, Worship, Paradise, the Serpent, the Tree of Life, and we may even include the covering of our naked bodies (see *Genesis*)—all these are found equally in Revelation and in Nature, and may be regarded in the light of " laws " in both.

What we find, on scrutinising closely, is assumption on assumption that would not be tolerated in an elementary class of logic ; such as would not guide an ordinarily sane man in the commonest affairs of life ;—the grossest credulity such as in ordinary business, would mark one out as an idiot. Lately (September 11th, 1901) the eminent Lord Kelvin, speaking before the British Association, referred to the Atomic Theory of Creation in the following words :—

" Matter and ether we were asked to believe experienced a wish for condensation and a dislike of strains—they strove for condensation and they struggled against strains. We were to picture, in fact, a lively struggle between the clay and the potter, the one with as much life as the other, and each understanding the other, but struggling together to make a pot." And what is even more : these two unintelligent inchoate

noumena did actually succeed in turning out the most extraordinary, intelligent—star-measuring and calculating—"pot," or man, who turns the tables on his own makers, and governs and rules, modifies and moulds, both !*

When we come before GOD who—as we said before, remains a Necessity—we cry, in His Presence of Infinite Holiness and Requirements—"Unclean ! Unclean !" We are ourselves compelled by the moral fitness of things, if we are to stand there at all, to stand in a "Righteousness" not our own (which appear there as "filthy rags") ; that is, as we have it not, in that His Own Righteousness which He has provided for us in our Federal Head and Creator to draw us nigh Him and restore to us our Original lost Divine Image. Before this Intense Burning Purity and Presence of GOD, our self-condemnation and the question of our "Righteousness," how utterly trifling, vain, worthless, contemptible, and even wicked, are such questions as "who was Adam ?" "Were we evolved from gnats and newts ?"—"Did Moses ever give the law or write the Pentateuch ?" For ourselves we would rather speak of the former subject ; and if we here consider the latter, it is a concession to meet a shallow and unreasoning age.

That some men will misbehave themselves in these days is not surprising—men who will deride the most solemn convictions of all humanity—men who without an elementary training in science or logic decide off-hand on the deepest problems underlying consciousness and which perplexed even the intellect of a Spinoza—problems explained and satisfactorily dealt with, not by the wit and wisdom of man but only by GOD Himself. Such men, as a fact, neither comprehend the subject nor understand the words they use, and yet stand up to fight against facts and the Wisdom of God !

As we have said before, the quarrel is an old one. There were "scoffers" in the days of Enoch and Noah before the flood, and there were "scoffers" also in the age of the Apostles. There have been "scoffers" always and everywhere. Fallacies make up for them the want of argument and fancies of facts—now superciliousness and sneers, now assumptions and lies, now scorn and even impudence. Sin must ever flee GOD'S Holy Presence and deny Him, and wilful ignorance must ever go astray. Assuming excusable ignorance and perfect fairness and sincerity in some, such opposers of the Gospel Truth forget a great fact, that men's minds and capacities vary, and every one may not see just as they do, or, possibly, may know more than they do. Even these, thus, are inexcusable.

*[That is, although "out of nothing nothing can come," out of nothing or zero something has come, and 1 to infinity !—ED., C. R.]

Such people confound being formed on one type or basis with an intermingling, fusion, and derivation of one from another of separate and distinct laws and principles—and believe that all came from nothing! Animals have trunks, arms and legs, and trees have trunks and branches; *therefore* man was originally a vegetable, and has been derived from it, strychnia from wheat, and *à fortiori*, man from monkeys!

It is to be observed here that the question of reason, intelligence, calculating power, is an even higher one and quite different—one even more impossible than the other. How many *æons*, it may be asked, separates the intelligence even of the highest ape from the devout and powerful intellect of a Newton or the beautiful and diverse mind of a Shakespeare? And even higher still, whence comes the peculiar sense of Responsibility to a Personal Moral Governor, or the conviction of a Future Life, which differentiates man from the brute? Only an idiot can believe in the possibility of Intelligence and Spirit being the product of or “evolving” from, matter—the All from the Nothing.

How the “Modern Monkey Gospel” has grown may be easily seen. First, there was, as we have said, Hugh Miller’s “Archetype” (Hugh Miller took it from the theologians and “Fathers”), from which the whole idea was derived. Plants and animals lived in congenial and suitable, or other, surroundings, and adapted themselves to them (as if being derived from them, they would not be just suited!). Some died off, some survived, others were slightly modified. Hence the fictions of “survival of the fittest,” “natural and sexual selection,” and “evolution”—an impossible extraordinary superstructure on the lightest airiest foundation! Everything—distinct and separate laws of plant-growth, or of animal life, poisons and food chemically distinct, distinct microbes even in the internal passages of apes and of men, brain capacity, and spiritual capacity—all regarded as if they were not! As for GOD specially creating Adam, or man, in His Own Divine Image to Reflect Him and for His Own Glory,—this grand and fundamental truth underlying the whole Universe and Revelation, is cast aside for the “fable”—man from the monkey! Verily, only a monkey intellect can fall so low.

“Evolution” is a fine, five-syllabled respectable word, with a full rolling-sound, and with a flavour of “science” about it, and “men-in-the-street” and others consider the use of it renders them “superior-like!” We all knew it in its etymological and legitimate sense always of old, but only of the last thirty years or so it has sprung up with its present evil, misleading, applied Darwinian sense. “Germinant”—a word superior, and even true in such matters—was more often in

use among theologians, but it has gone under for the present (probably to only rise again). In "germinant" there is an infolding or promise, but one does not produce the other.

From "the Fathers" Divine theological and teleological argument of the "archetype" the descent, however, has been made to the degraded material assertion of a pure fiction. And along with it have come a host of other fictions and assumptions also in matters of geology and ethnography, till the age of the earth has gone back into an incomputable, series of *æons* that may not be even applied to the existence of the whole Universe. The appearance of man on the earth, too, has gone back to the old story of *autochthones*—men who everywhere sprung up out of the ground, or were "evolved" everywhere, and that—well, many many millions of years ago! "Fairy tales" of "river-drift men," "glacial period dwellers," "shell-fish eaters," "lake dwelling builders," and "stone-implement users"—all of these who are authentic being existing before our eyes!—have had given to them "pre-Adamite" existence, and even conveniently assigned particular regions and quarters of the globe. Thus it is that a modern Solomon, who believes in the "Monkey Gospel" and can write "F. R. S." to his name, can put forth that "it is indeed, very likely that Professor Philips' view, that the caves in the glaciated area of Yorkshire, are of pre-glacial age, will probably be found to be true, not only there, but in the whole of Middle and Northern England, and the whole of Wales. In the south of England, too, the occurrence of implements in an ancient river deposit at Crayford in Kent, beneath a stratum containing evidence of the action of melting snow and ice, proves that the River-drift man was in that district before the extreme glacial severity had been reached. There we can mark the spots where he sat on the bank of a tributary to the Thames, and fashioned his implements out of the blocks of flint brought down by previous floods. In the silt, in which these are covered up, the wild animals, both of the northern and the southern groups, but more especially the latter, are represented. In other parts of Southern England, as, for example, at Salisbury, there is no means of ascertaining his relation to the Glacial Period, because all glacial deposits are conspicuous by their absence."

And again:—

"The River-drift hunter lived on the continent before any glacial phenomena were manifested in the British area and that he arrived here, following the migrating bodies of animals northwards, before the extreme severity of the glacial cold was felt. He may have observed the gradual creeping downwards of the ice from the mountains into the lowlands, and

have been driven, like the animals which he hunted, to take refuge in the lowlying districts of Middle Europe and Southern England. He probably, too, was familiar with the shore of the glacial sea, during the time of submergence. After the emergence of the land he certainly followed the chase in the valleys of the North Sea and of the English Channel, and into the forests and uplands of South-Eastern England, after the Glacial Period. He was probably in Britain while glaciers still crowned the Highlands of Scotland, and the higher hills of England, Wales and Ireland.

"While we may construct a picture, such as this, of the arrival of primeval man in Britain and of his surroundings, the question naturally arises in our minds,—What was his relation to the existing inhabitants of Britain? The answer is clear and unmistakable. He cannot be identified with any one of the stocks from which the British peoples have been derived. Nor can he be identified with any one living race outside Britain. He probably represents a primitive phase of barbarism common at that remote age to the whole of the old world; and possibly also, a generalised type of human physique not now to be found in any one section of his descendants."

It is "indeed" and in truth "very likely," and "probably" an imaginary "picture" of the writer—a "fairy tale." "Possibly," too, our own "fairies" were of the same race. Procter, a professed astronomer, was the first to introduce poetry and imagination in the severely mathematical science of astronomy; and he was discarded from Government service therein. He was justly and severely punished. But who can punish these his imitators in geology and other sciences. We can only send such, who make all kinds of assumptions and proceed on "probably" and so forth, to school again to undergo a course of training in elementary Logic.

We will now close by writing out the first chapter of Genesis according to the "Modern Monkey Gospel":—

GENESIS CHAP. I.—ACCORDING TO THE EVOLUTIONISTS.

1. Primarily the Unknowable moved upon cosinos and evolved protoplasm.
2. And protoplasm was inorganic and undifferentiated, containing all things in potential energy; and a spirit of evolution moved upon the fluid mass.
3. And the Unknowable said, "Let atoms attract," and they did so, and their contact begat light, heat, and electricity.
4. And the unconditioned differentiated the atoms, each after its kind, and their combination begat rock, air, and water.
5. And there went out a spirit of evolution from the unconditioned, and working in protoplasm, by accretion and absorption, produced the organic cell.

6. And cell by nutrition evolved primordial germ, and germ developed protogene, and protogene begat eozoon, and eozoon begat monad, and monad begat animalcule.

7. And animalcule begat ephemera; then began creeping things to multiply on the face of the earth.

8. And earthly atom in vegetable protoplasm begat the molecule, and thence came all grasses and herbs on the earth.

9. And animalcule in the water evoked fins, tails, claws, and scales, and in the air wings and beaks; and on the dry land they sprouted such organs as were necessary, being acted upon by the environment.

10. And by accretion and absorption came the radiata and mollusca, and mollusca begat articulata, and articulata begat vertebrata.

11. Now these are the generations of the highest vertebrata in the cosmic period, when the Unknowable evolved in the bipedal mammalia.

12. And every man on the earth while he was yet a monkey, and the horse while he was yet a hipparion, and the hipparion before he was an orodon.

13. Out of the ascidian came the amphibian and begat the pentadactyle and the pentadactyle by inheritance and selection produced the bilobate, from which are the simiadae in all their tribes.

14. And of the simiadae the lemur prevailed above his fellows and produced the platyrrhine monkey.

15. And the platyrrhine begat the catarrhine, and the catarrhine monkey begat the anthropoid ape, and the ape begat the longimanous orang, and the orang begat the chimpanzee, and the chimpanzee evolved the what-is-it.

16. And the what-is-it went into the land of Nod and took him a wife of the longimanous gibbons.

17. And in process of the cosmic were born unto them and their children the anthropomorphic primordial types.

18. The kornunculus, the prognathus, the traglodyte, the autochton, and the tarragen; these are the generations of primeval man.

19. The primeval man was naked, and not ashamed, and lived in quad rumanous innocence, and struggled mightily to harmonise with the environment.

20. And in process of time, by inheritance and natural selection, did he progress from the simple and homogeneous to the complex and heterogeneous, and the weakest died and the strongest grew and multiplied.

21. And man grew a thumb, for that he had need of it, and developed capacity for prey.

22. For, behold the swiftest men caught the most animals, and the swiftest animals got away from the slowest men; wherefore it came to pass that the slow animals were eaten, and the slow men were starved to death.

23. And as types were differentiated the weaker types continually disappeared.

24. And the earth was filled with violence, for man strove with man, and tribe with tribe, whereby they killed off the weak and foolish and secured the survival of the fittest.

WAZIR BEG, M.D., L.L.D.

ART. XV.—A LADY'S JOURNEY ROUND THE GLOBE.

(INDIA AND CEYLON.)

[Liverpool to Montreal, across Canada to Vancouver, from Vancouver to Yokohama, (Japan), and out again at Kobe. Thence to Hong-Kong, Canton, etc., and back to Hong Kong. From Hong-Kong round the Malay Peninsula (calling at Singapore and Penang) to Ceylon. Thence through India—Home.]

UPON arriving at Colombo, we drove to the Galle Face Hotel. It is a handsome new building and faces the sea, which is a consideration as one wants every breath of air one can get, Colombo being so close and hot, one is in a constant perspiration. At the Galle Face, electric fans are used instead of punkhas, they distribute the air much better, equalising it all over the room. There are a great number in the dining room, and they can also be fixed in the bed-room for you upon paying a small sum. Native tailors come to your rooms and you can get a light suit or dress made in a few hours.

The Cingalese (the men) wear their hair in a knot at the back of their heads, and round tortoise-shell combs on the top. They do not wear any other head-dress out of doors. The waiters wear one long white garment and no shoes or stockings. They speak in the third person, as "will master like soup," or "will lady take tea?" They are very attentive,

There are monstrous insects in Ceylon. One evening I found a huge spider on my pillow under the mosquito curtain, its body was as large as that of a mouse and it was the same colour and had very long legs, the room-boy soon caught it for me. He said "him no bite missy," and possibly it would not have done so, but I did not care to sleep in the same room with it. There are also snakes, scorpions and centipedes, but they seldom come into the houses. We saw a very large scorpion on the roadside one day while out driving.

Rickshaws are used in Colombo, the same as in Japan, also ordinary horse-carriages. It is impossible to walk, on account of the heat, except for a short distance. People drive up and down by the sea-shore in the cool of the evening, also as early as four o'clock in the morning; few stir out in the heat of the day.

Travellers do not usually stay long in Colombo, Kandy is so much cooler. It is 1,680 feet above Colombo, and the temperature is about the same as it is in the summer in England, perhaps slightly warmer. We were about four hours getting there in the train from Colombo, and the scenery was magnificent, and flowers such as grow here in hot-houses grow wild. There are a great number of tea plantations on the

mountains. Kandy is considered the loveliest place in the world, and certainly I have never been in any place so pretty. The Garden of Eden is said to have been here.

The drives around are lovely. One day we saw some elephants lying on their sides in a lake. They had finished their work and were cooling and resting themselves. There were five of them, and their attendants told them to come out of the water; which they did immediately, and salaamed to us and we patted their trunks, and one held his foot out for my father to walk up on to his back, but as the elephant was very wet and muddy, he declined the invitation; however a boy there was not so particular, and ran up in a second. We threw a small coin about the size of a three-penny piece into the sand, and the elephant found it with his trunk and gave it to the boy. As soon as we turned away, they were told to go and lie down as before. Elephants are wonderfully obedient, and it is very fortunate they are so, or they would be perfectly unmanageable being such huge animals.

We went over one or two tea plantations, it is very interesting, seeing the whole process from the picking of the leaves (which is usually done by young girls) until the tea is packed in boxes ready to send away.

The Botanical Gardens at Paradenia which contain the tall India-rubber trees and gigantic bamboos are very fine. We were particularly interested in the different spices, I should think all the spices we have ever heard of grow in these beautiful gardens.

What pleased us most about Ceylon was the delightfully green and fresh appearance of the vegetation. There was a shower of rain every day, either morning or evening, but it behoved us to be very careful not to be caught in one of these showers; we should have been drenched to the skin in a few minutes.

There was a Mahommedan Festival one day while we were at Kandy. The children were dressed in all their finery velvet, tinsel and gold. Some of them looked very absurd, and I preferred their ordinary garments. One little boy was strutting about very proudly, but certainly he was not over-dressed, for the only garment he had on was a lovely opal necklace. Many of the poorer children are merely clothed in innocence.

Another day there was a festival at the Buddhist Temple, the Sacred Temple of the Tooth, it being the birthday of the High Priest of the Buddhists. In the evening it was brilliantly lighted with candles and little oil lamps. We saw the Golden Shrine covered with gems which contains the great Buddha's tooth. And one morning we fed the Sacred Cobra with eggs under the Bo tree.

The Queen's Hotel overlooks the lake and is in a delightful situation. There were three or four Boer prisoners on parole, from the camp at Diyatalawa (higher up in the mountains), staying at the Hotel, two of them had been very rich men, before the war. One of these looked very sad, and ill, and one evening he was sitting alone looking more melancholy than usual, so I said a few words to him. He seemed so grateful, he told me he had been a prisoner for two years, having been captured at the beginning of the war, naturally he was very sick of the whole thing and thought it most foolish of his countrymen holding out so long. Since my return home he has sent me a cocoanut beautifully carved with the Transvaal arms and some pen-holders and other things.*

Before we left Kandy the death of Her Majesty the Queen was announced. A day or two afterwards all the white people in Ceylon and India were in mourning. Also many of the natives, Government Clerks and people of that sort were wearing a crape band on the arm. Sorrow was universal, and black was hung outside the shops and many public buildings."

We stayed a day or two longer in Colombo before leaving

* The following letter accompanied them :—

"You told me so graciously that you would like to hear how I prospered that though I cannot admit of any advance whatever I hope you'll forgive me.

"Indeed, since that far-off 22nd of January at Queen's Hotel, Kandy, where you troubled to express sympathy with a man wrestling with both physical and mental pain, I have followed you in your journeyings and I conclude that by this time you are safe at home. Home! I wonder if you realise what that means and how much the want of one affects a man for good and evil? Principally evil, for more years than I care to look back upon the want of some such safe anchorage has sent me wandering, and thinking and questioning and now. . .

"As thy servant liveth, we have nothing to complain about in our captivity beyond that inward searching and the vain attempt to adjust regrets. Nothing whatever! We have kind officials, ample rations and warm coverings, while our privileges as to parole are daily extending, and but for some few who have not yet learnt wisdom would ere this, I fancy, have had a wider scope.

"Another prisoner of war and self spent a day and night at a neighbouring village. A sleepy native "dorp" with a sprinkling of Europeans, a perpetual Kaleidoscope of mournful visaged natives, but there are no barbed wire fences and sentries and I am not sure it is not the ante-room to heaven. Our people have made a new road to this Elysium, as a memorial, which I think will be more lasting than many I could name.

"The health and comfort of this camp will be hard to beat; and the kindness and courtesy of those in authority beyond reproach, but with it all there is the future to be thought of, and the past to be forgotten; a difficult matter in camp. I hope, Mademoiselle, the good God, will keep you from two such mental dreams."

the Island, and went to Ragama, about twenty minutes by train from Colombo, to visit the Boer Camp, as we had a letter of introduction to Mr. A. of the Civil Service. He kindly shewed us all over it. It is his duty to read every letter that comes into the Camp, and also everyone going out and stamps it with the "Censor's" stamp. He has to read letters in several languages, and it is often a very tedious process, as there are prisoners from many different parts of the world who joined the Boer army. Five hundred of the worst characters are at Ragama. We were informed that there were six thousand prisoners altogether in Ceylon. They are very well treated, having exactly the same rations as their guards, and the Boer officers have a superior tent to themselves. The prisoners are not obliged to do any work, but the time must hang very heavily. They are allowed to write to their friends upon any subject they please, except on matters relating to the war or South African politics. The high wire fence which goes all round the Camp interested me greatly. It is composed of barbed wire, interlaced a few feet wide, and on the inside a net hangs down with minute electric wires running through it, I was told if anyone touched it bells rang which instantly alarmed the Camp, so there is very little chance of a prisoner escaping.

We left Colombo in the afternoon of January 26th, and arrived at Tuticorin about 8 o'clock the next morning. The steamers are not very good, but few people go that way, preferring to take the P & O. or other large steamer straight to Calcutta. But we wanted to see something of Southern India, and our intention was to go from Tuticorin by rail to Madras and then take the French Mail to Calcutta. We were very glad afterwards that we had taken the trouble to do this, as some of the finest Hindoo Temples are in Southern India.

The next morning after our arrival at Madura we were up very early in order to be present at a festival which was to take place at the great Temple. We had to drive about six miles, and it was very interesting to see the crowds of people, men, women and children on their way to the Temple. Hindoos of all castes were there. A great number had finished bathing in the tank when we arrived; and having dried their garments were ready to go into the Temple. Several were making a pilgrimage round the Mountain before entering, and two very pious ones were rolling themselves over and over, it probably took them hours to get round that way. Horrible-looking beggars were lying about in every direction, some even looked at the point of death. They get a good deal of money given to them, nearly everyone throwing them a small coin.

This Temple dedicated to Siva, is considered the most important in India; the carving is magnificent, but inside it is very dirty, as the Hindoos keep sacred bulls, elephants and monkeys in their Temples and these animals are allowed to roam about at their pleasure. After the people have bathed they go to the priest and he puts a mark on their foreheads, so that one can tell by the different marks to what god they have dedicated themselves. Siva seems to be the favourite god, principally I think, because they think it is necessary to propitiate him; he being the destroyer while Brahma is the creator and Vishnu the preserver. And one sees in nearly all the Temples a number of images of Ganesh, the elephant god, the eldest son of Siva; he is a repulsive looking object and they think it meritorious to rub oil over him which does not add to his appearance.

We stayed one or two days at Trichinopoly and went up to the Temple on the rocks, which rises to a height of 275 feet above the street, and where the fortress once stood, which has since been demolished, and drove to the famous Vishnu Temple of Surangam. It is here one sees the beautiful sculptured horsemen in front of the pillars in the Hall of One Thousand Columns. We spent a day at Tanjore and saw the great bronze bull, then went on to Madras.

The "Connemara Hotel" is a short drive out from the town, and the rooms being open towards the ceiling on account of the great heat, three or four families of birds had built their nests in the corners of my room and I was awakened quite early by the quarreling of the different families. The crows are so tame they will eat out of one's hand, but the native servants "shoo" them away as they become very troublesome. The flying foxes are a peculiar sight to strangers; they sleep all day hanging head downwards from the trees and resemble huge pears. They fly about at night and look like gigantic bats.

The Juggernaut procession took place in the black town of Madras while we were there. It was a wonderful sight, the noise was deafening, the yelling and the music. The image stands inside covered with jewels, and the priests sit in front. The multitudes crowd round the car, the sick people being extremely anxious to touch it. By so doing expecting to be healed of their infirmities. Strong ropes are attached to the heavy vehicle, the people pulling it themselves. I think everyone knows that fanatics are now prevented by the British Government from throwing themselves or their children under the wheels.

We went to the Hindoo burial ground, and there were several bodies being burnt. One young woman was brought in to be buried. (Some sects of Hindoos bury their dead,

others burn them.) The bearers put down the stretcher by the grave, which was about three feet deep, and commenced faking off her ornaments, she had necklaces and ear-rings all round her ears, nose-rings, finger-rings, bracelets, toe-rings and anklets. It took nearly an hour to take them all off, the nose and ear-rings had positively to be cut off. It seemed very disgusting pulling the corpse about in that way, but that is the custom. The women do not usually remove their jewels during life from the time they put them on in girlhood.

After the bearers had taken off all her gaudy tinsel clothes, they buried her simply wrapped up in a piece of calico.

The coolest part of Madras is the seashore, where one gets a very pleasant breeze, and there is a wide esplanade. There was a general holiday the day of the Queen's Funeral and the Cathedral was crowded for the Memorial Service. As we did not apply beforehand for tickets we thought it was no use trying to get in, but we saw the procession returning from the Service. First came the Governor and suite, riding in carriages, with a large escort of soldiers, and after him the Officers according to their rank, all in full dress uniform, and the ladies in deep mourning.

We were obliged to take the French Mail to Calcutta as that was the only steamer that stopped at Madras. It was a very small boat, and anything but clean, and the Officers lack that spick and span look English Officers always seem to have. In every way it was inferior to an English boat or the North German Lloyd Steamers.

We did not remain at Calcutta more than four days, but drove to the Botanical Gardens to see the mighty Banian tree, the Zoo, the Museum and Government House. Also the burning ghât on the banks of the Hooghly. There were about a dozen bodies in process of cremation, some had only just been laid upon the wood, with more wood laid over them and only the head and feet protruding, others were nearly reduced to ashes. The usual way is to lay the corpse full length on the back, but one body was placed in a kneeling position face downwards, and were informed that the man had come from another country. It was almost impossible to see through the clouds of dense smoke and I was not sorry to get away into the fresh air again. After the cremation is over the ashes are thrown into the river.

In the cool of the afternoon it is very pleasant to drive to the Eden Gardens, and listen to the Band. It is the favourite resort of the young people of Calcutta.

We travelled all night from Calcutta to Benares, the Holy City of the Hindoos, arriving at noon the next day. In the afternoon we drove to Sarnath, where stand the ruins of two great Buddhist Topes.

Very early the next morning, we took a boat and were rowed slowly round the Ganges in front of the ghâts or steps leading to the water, where every morning and evening pious Hindoos offer their prayers and make their ablutions. Hindoos of all castes, men, women and children were bathing together, in the Holy River. Before commencing their prayers they usually place a small image of their favourite god before them and after making offerings of flowers and fruit make their petitions to him. Many of them fill their brass pots with the filthy water in order to bathe the limbs of their sick relatives who are too weak and aged to go to the Holy Ganges themselves. The Fakirs or religious beggars swarm at Benares. They are disgusting looking objects, nearly naked and their bodies are rubbed over with ashes ; and their matted hair is twisted round their heads. Many mutilate themselves, or pose in immovable attitudes perhaps with one arm held in the air until it is impossible ever to move it again ; others allow their nails to grow to an enormous length or make their bed upon iron spikes. We saw three or four bodies being burned at the burning ghât. It is the ambition of every pious Hindoo to have his body consumed by the side of the Sacred River, and his ashes afterwards thrown into it.

The lately bereaved widow is not allowed to approach too closely to the funeral pyre as she is sometimes tempted to throw herself upon it, in order to escape the life of diudgery which she knows is to be her lot.

There are hundreds of Temples and Shrines at Benares, many of them very rich and beautiful, but they are spoiled by being so crowded together. The Sacred Bulls pass in and out as they please and are fed by the worshippers. They are not molested in any way and the monkeys enjoy just as much freedom. They are dedicated to Hanuman, the monkey god, there are hundreds of them. They are very tame. Many of them came and ate sweets and nuts out of our hands.

Lucknow is a beautiful place, and the numerous palaces look very fine from a distance, but upon closer inspection one perceives they are only painted or covered with stucco and are very inferior to the lovely marble palaces at Delhi.

The places connected with the Mutiny excite great interest. The Residency, the grave of Sir Henry Havelock, and especially that of Sir Henry Lawrence upon whose tomb are inscribed the modest words 'to the memory of Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty.'

I may here mention that we had the pleasure afterwards of meeting the daughter of Sir Henry Lawrence on our homeward bound vessel ; she and her husband were returning

from India where they had been expressly to see her father's grave. She told me she was sent by him to England at the age of seven years, as Sir Henry Lawrence knew at that time something dreadful was about to happen. Soon after she reached England she received a letter from him telling her of a charming children's picnic that had just been given by some ladies and at which she would have been present had she been in India, but the letter concluded with the words "thank God, my love you are not here." She never saw her father again.

We found it quite cold in the mornings and evenings at Lucknow but very pleasant during the day. The evening we arrived, there was a Mahomedan Wedding Procession going through the streets, playing music and making a dreadful noise. They keep up these festivals usually for about three days. Our servant told us he could take us to the house, as rather a celebrated dancing girl was to dance at ten o'clock. There was a large courtyard, and a number of wedding guests, all men, were sitting round on cushions, and the bridegroom with a peculiar looking headdress on his head was in the centre; they were all gorgeously arrayed. They were very polite and offered us chairs, and after we were seated the dancing girl came forward and commenced to dance; it was really more of a shuffle than a dance and there was a good deal of posturing. She was chewing the betel nut all the time, and she kept up a sort of sing song and winked first at one and then at another and our servant told us it was a good thing we could not understand the songs.

No doubt the dancing would have been queer, but a man went forward and whispered something in her ear before she commenced. None of the women were to be seen, they had to content themselves by peeping through the screens that went round the courtyard. It is interesting to go through the Bazaars at Lucknow, I think they are as good here as anywhere. Everything is sold there, and people of all handicrafts are plying their trades; embroidering caps, carving sandal-wood articles, or making lovely things in silver ware. The Bazaars are usually so densely packed it is difficult to walk through them. Over the shops are little balconies in which the women sit, clad in very thin gauze garments, they are usually handsome, but very bold-looking women.

Our native servant was most useful to us; he was an excellent guide, knowing a great deal about all the places we visited. He was also a very good cook, and could get a very fair lunch ready for us in 20 minutes, if necessary. It is sometimes difficult in some of the bungalows in out-of-

the-way places to get anything in a hurry., He also saw to our luggage, and engaged our sleeping-berths ; usually managing to get us a carriage to ourselves. He also waited upon us at table.

There are pretty fair hotels in the North-West Provinces, but in Southern India, and some of the native places off the general route, we had to content ourselves with dak bungalows, which are put up by the Government for the use of travellers.

Natives always remove their shoes before entering a room, but keep their turbans on. It is a sign of disrespect to remove the turban.

Cawnpore is principally associated in the minds of English people with the terrible slaughter of the women and children during the Mutiny, and the old man who drove us round was an Englishman, one of the few who escaped that awful time.

He showed us Wheeler's entrenchment, where a number of English people were kept twenty-one days in the blazing sun without any shelter whatever ; and unable to get any water from the well in the centre without risk of life, as immediately a man advanced towards it he was shot at. The Memorial Church is near this spot.

At the steps of the Suttee Chowra Ghaut leading down to the Ganges so many British were murdered, after Nana Sahib had promised them they should be allowed to leave by boats ; Nana Sahib stood in the Hindoo Temple at the top of the steps and directed the firing, those who were not immediately shot had their throats cut.

We drove to the Memorial Gardens which contain the well into which the bodies of the British women and children were thrown. Over the enclosed well stands the figure of an angel in white marble with arms crossed on her breast and holding a palm branch in each hand ; near by is the following inscription : " Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children who, near this spot, were cruelly massacred by the followers of the rebel Nana Dhundu Panth of Bithur, and cast the dying with the dead into the well below on the 15th July 1857."

The fort at Agra faced with redstone presents an imposing appearance. It is a mile and a half in circuit, and seventy feet high. It was the Palace of the Emperor Akbar, but the beautiful Moti Musjid, the Pearl Mosque, was built by his grandson Shah Jehan ; it is entirely of white marble and is perfectly dazzling. In the Fort are a number of buildings including the private and public halls of audience, the zenana and other apartments. During the Mutiny between four thousand and five thousand Europeans were sheltered there.

But the most beautiful building in Agra and, indeed, in the whole world, is the Taj Mahal, the gorgeous mausoleum built by Shah Jehan over the body of his favourite wife. Twenty-thousand workmen were employed in building it and it was nearly twenty years before it was completed. Lovely gardens surround it, and when the sun is shining it is almost impossible to gaze upon it. The white marble is inlaid with semi-precious stones. The sarcophagus of the Sultana stands in the centre of the Great Hall under the vaulted roof, and that of Shah Jehan near it. They are exquisitely inlaid in beautiful designs of flowers and fruit. I have never seen anything so beautiful as this; and the sight of it will ever remain in my memory.

Before leaving Agra we drove to Fatehpur Sikri; it is twenty-four miles away; it was built by the Emperor Akbar and most of it is in ruins; but the Palaces of Akbar's three wives, Mohammedan, Hindoo and Christian, are in good preservation, as is also the marble mosque where repose the remains of the Holy Fakir (or sort of High Priest of Akbar's) under a canopy of mother-of-pearl.

We started at six o'clock in the morning and returned in time for dinner, changing horses twice on the way; we found it quite chilly and were glad of our wraps. I was delighted with the lovely green parrots flying from tree to tree, and one sees wild ring-doves, squirrels, peacocks, storks, etc., and herds of queer looking goats, their long ears hanging down. From time to time one passes little native carts, drawn by mild eyed hump-backed oxen, or the uncomfortable looking ekkas like great birdcages which are usually so overcrowded with natives that all one sees is a number of legs protruding.

On our way from Agra to Delhi, we stayed a day or two at Gwalior, an important native state. We went over the palace, which is furnished in modern style, and ascended the steep road up to the Fort on the back of an elephant.

There is much to be seen at Delhi and we spent a week or two there. It is one of the oldest historic cities in the world, and the ancient Mogul Emperors were always crowned there. Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India from this city.

The Jama Masjid built of red sandstone and inlaid with white marble is the largest mosque in the world. It stands between the fort and the city, and is entered by a flight of marble steps.

The Fort contains the lovely white marble and gold Palace of Shah Jehan the Magnificent. Here in the Audience Hall stood the celebrated Peacock Throne which blazed with jewels, and was afterwards stolen by the Persians. Some of the pillars and walls are inlaid with precious stones and are of

the same workmanship as the Taj at Agra; and is nearly as beautiful but not in such good preservation, as many of the stones have been picked out and taken away. The white marble Pearl Mosque is near the private Hall of Audience and is lovely in its simplicity.

We drove through miles of ruins to the Kutab Minar, it is a fluted column of red sandstone and white marble and is 238 feet high; it is exceedingly handsome and was originally built for a praying tower; it is nearly 660 years old. Near by is a Mosque said to have been built of fragments of more than twenty Hindoo Temples. Also a Hindoo Temple which contains hundreds of pillars beautifully carved, but the figures of the gods and goddesses were shamefully mutilated by the Mahomedans many years ago after they conquered the Hindoos. There is one other thing of interest; the old iron-pillar, which was placed in position by a Hindoo King hundreds of years ago. It is much revered by the natives.

One afternoon we drove to the Ridge, and saw the Mutiny Memorial, and the Kashmir Gate where a handful of British soldiers laid the powder bags at the door of the Gate. The shattering of the doors through the explosion allowing General Wilson's forces to enter the city. Many other scenes connected with the siege of 1857 are of the greatest interest to the English people.

The bazaars and shops in Chandni Chauk are too delightful and I could hardly tear myself away from them. We bought quantities of beautiful things, carved sandal wood jewellery, embroideries in gold and silver, ivories and other treasures. Pedlars also come to the hotels and even into one's room, but they are a terrible nuisance, and one cannot get rid of them, as they never take "no" for an answer. It is the same all over India, but we were worried in Delhi more than anywhere else; sometimes they have very good things to sell, much the same as in the shops, and as we bought somethings in nearly every place we stopped at, managed to accumulate a pretty good collection before we left for home.

From Delhi we went to Simla to visit some friends we had not seen for some time. We left Delhi at night sleeping in the train arriving at Kalka next morning at 5 o'clock. We had breakfast and started up the mountains in a private tonga which contained my father and myself, our servant and driver and a little luggage. Our other luggage following behind.

Tonga travelling is very tiring, as the vehicles do not seem to have any springs at all and the jolting is terrible, but the horses were splendid, and galloped all the while. We had fresh ones every four miles and changed them twenty times, so used forty horses in our journey of eight hours. The driver blew

a horn from time to time so fresh horses were always-ready for us, and in half a minute we were off again. We stopped at Solan about half way up for tiffin. The same thing was repeated on our return journey. We passed hundreds of camels laden with provisions toiling up the hills, everything has to go up that way or by bullock-cart. We arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon and our friends dined with us at our hotel in the evening.

We found Simla rather cold, a quantity of snow having fallen a few days before, but as the sun shines brightly all the time one does not seem to mind it at all.

Next morning our friends sent their rickshaws for us, and shewed us all the celebrated spots in Simla. We went round Jakko of Kipling fame. Also we went over the Viceregal Lodge, and had an extensive view of the magnificent snow-mountains from the roof. In the afternoon we went to the Skating Rink and spent a very pleasant hour. I was quite surprised to see such a number of people as not being the season I naturally expected Simla to be empty. Ladies of the club kindly take it in turns to provide tea. In the evening we dined with our friends in their charming home. The following day was also spent very pleasantly; we inspected the Church which overflows with a very distinguished congregation during the season. Early the next morning we started on our downward journey arriving at Kalka the same evening.

From Kalka we went to Amritsar arriving at six o'clock in the morning. We spent the day there seeing the beautiful golden Sikh Temple, built by Ranjit Singh, the domes of which are covered with real gold; we inspected the carpet manufacturers and the fine embroideries which can be bought at Amritsar. We found the heat rather trying after the cold at Simla, there had been a sudden change in the weather, while we were in the hills, and afterwards as we journeyed South, we noticed a very considerable change each day. We left Amritsar the same evening at eight o'clock arriving at Lahore about two hours later.

We had an introduction to the successor of Mr. Kipling, the former Superintendent of the Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Museum. This gentleman shewed us all over the Museum, and we saw the pupils at work in the School of Art, and spent some little time looking round his interesting room where Mr. Kipling spent so many hours. Afterwards when we were taking a drive round Lahore we passed the house where Rudyard Kipling wrote so many of his stories, a great number of them being connected with Lahore, especially the tales of the "Soldiers Three."

The next morning we went to the Fort, and inspected the

armoury which contains a fine collection of old Indian weapons. Near the Fort is Ranjit Singh's Burning place where his body was consumed together with eleven of his wives. In the afternoon we drove six miles to a lovely Mosque and garden where our friends had provided a charming *al fresco* tea for us with beautiful sweets and cakes. We left Lahore the next morning arriving at Delhi at eleven o'clock the same evening.

Our next stopping place was Jeypore, an important Rajput State. Here the streets are much wider and longer than in most native states. The people are very picturesquely dressed in the brightest of colours. The Maharajah has a number of very fine elephants, they look magnificent walking in the streets with their grand trappings on. And there are plenty of camels and bullock carts. Everywhere something of interest meets the eye. Boys pass leading the Maharajah's Cheetahs (or hunting leopards) their eyes bandaged. Women sit at the doors of the shops grinding corn between two stones, the same as in the times of the Bible where it says "two women shall be grinding together, the one shall be taken and the other left." I took a snapshot of two women grinding together. People working at all sorts of handicrafts were laughing and chattering. All the houses are washed in a pale rose pink, and the Hall of the Winds part of the Maharajah's Palace is very lovely. We went over the Palace which is very extensive, also the gardens and stables, where two or three hundred horses and a great number of elephants are kept. Also we saw the alligator tank, and the huge creatures were fed with pieces of raw meat for our benefit.

Nearly every day one sees a wedding procession. The bridegroom goes first very grandly dressed sitting on a handsome horse, then the bride in a palanquin, after them the guests. The wedding presents bring up the rear carried by coolies, first large bowls of rice, sweetmeats, etc., for the feast, then vases and choice ornaments, then perhaps a wardrobe, four men staggering beneath its weight, and the cooking utensils carried last of all by women. One procession must have been a mile in length, it was most comical, and reminded me of a Christmas Pantomime.

We visited Amber, the deserted capital of Jeypore, it is nearly all in ruins except the Palace and the Temple dedicated to Kali, where every morning a goat is offered in place of the human being sacrificed in former times. We drove part of the way, and when we reached the foot of the hill going up to Amber, we mounted an elephant, which was waiting for us and rode up to the Palace on its back. The Mahout sits on the neck of the elephant, his legs hanging down behind

the animal's ears, and the huge beast knows which way he has to turn because the Mahout kicks him on one side or the other all the time. He also has a goad with which he pricks the elephant when he is lazy.

We saw hundreds of monkeys playing among the ruin. Amber must have been a grand place centuries ago, but when the Court removed to Jeypore nearly the whole of the population went with it.

From Jeypore we went to Jodhpore, which is considered one of the most picturesque native towns in India; we certainly thought it so, and His Highness the Maharajah was most polite to us and asked us to visit him. The Palace is luxuriously furnished in English style. He is a most intelligent young man and speaks English fluently, although at the time of our visit he had not been in England. Lately, however, he has been to Europe and has had a very fine reception. He placed a carriage and horses at our disposal the whole of the three days we were at Jodhpore and sent a native officer to shew us the sights of the place. This officer took us to the Fort where the State jewels are kept, they were in long cases arranged round the room, there were dozens and dozens of rings, bracelets, watches, head ornaments, nose rings and anklets, three or four crowns, one of diamonds, another of enormous rubies and emeralds, several necklaces, one composed of sixteen rows of huge pearls which the Maharajah wears on special occasions, the lowest row reaches to his waist. We saw the State harness, gold for the horses and silver for the elephants and a golden umbrella.

One thing especially attracted my attention, it was a golden casket given to his late father by the King when he was Prince of Wales, and was visiting the Maharajah during his journey through India. It was a miniature of himself painted on ivory and surrounded by diamonds. And the initials A. E. and the Crown were also in diamonds.

Afterwards we were driven to the old Capital. Among other things it contains an old Hindoo Temple with magnificent stone carving and a Palace containing gigantic figures of heroes.

Before we left he presented me with two fine autographs photographs of himself, one in native dress and the other in uniform, with a polite note which said "With His Highness Maharajah Sardar Singh of Jodhpore's best compliments.

(Signed) SARDAR SINGH."

We noticed numbers of lovely peacocks from the train between Jeypore and Jodhpore, they looked so beautiful with the sun shining on them.

We stayed for two days at Ahmadabad, which contains a number of Mosques elaborately carved; they illustrate the Sara-

cenic form of architecture which is a combination of Mussalman and Hindoo art. The Shrine of Hathi Singh, a rich Jain merchant, is well worth a visit.

The Baulis or wells are interesting, round them are pillared galleries built some distance beneath the surface, and when the heat of Summer is unbearable, the people take refuge there. The finest is Dada Haris with fine carving. A number of steps lead down to the well which is thirty feet below the surface, it has a very curious appearance.

We drove to the ruined city of Sarkhej, built by Sultan Mahmud Begra but now deserted; he made a great lake with steps rising from the water, above which he built a number of palaces and pavilions and magnificent mausoleums for himself and his Queen; very few people visit it, but it is very well worth seeing. We started very early in the morning and enjoyed the drive immensely; we crossed Sabarmati river, where hundreds of people were bathing and washing their clothes, but the water was very low, as there had not been any rain for many months. This was one of the worst famine-stricken districts and we noticed everywhere the barrenness of the trees, in some instances not a single leaf was to be seen. And we were told the Summer before it was not an uncommon thing to see numbers of dead bodies of human beings and cattle lying about the roads. We found the beggars very troublesome, they looked so thin and woebegone, I think we gave more "pice" away that day than any day in India. However, the Relief Fund has done much to mitigate their sufferings, but so many people seem to need help in India.

We saw a great number of monkeys playing about the trees, and hanging from the boughs, the parent monkeys would often slap their children to keep them in order. It was a very amusing sight.

On one occasion we visited the Hospital for sick animals. The Hindoo is not allowed by his religion to kill anything, so when an animal gets its leg broken or is otherwise disabled, or too old to work, it is sent there. We saw dozens of bullocks with broken limbs, and horses, sheep, goats, monkeys, parrots, etc., looking very miserable, and I thought how much kinder it would have been to have put them out of their misery, but they are well taken care of, and sometimes stay there for years. Visitors are expected to give a small donation to help to maintain the Hospital.

We had a delightful time at Baroda, the state of the Gaekwar. His Highness shewed us over his magnificent modern palace, which has only been built 15 or 16 years. It is furnished throughout in English style and has elevators, electric light and fans; shower baths, and all the modern improvements. He

also has a very fine collection of Indian pictures. I remarked that the grounds surrounding the palace reminded me very much of an English park and gardens and he explained that his head gardener was from Kew Gardens. The Maharajah often comes to England, and is a great favourite.

Afterwards I visited Her Highness the Maharanee in her own wing of the palace, she was in native dress and received me with charming grace and was as much at ease as a well bred English lady. She is a beautiful woman, and speaks English perfectly. She accompanied the Maharajah on a visit to London rather more than a year ago.

His Highness sent us in one of his own carriages, a comfortable English landau, and servants in his own livery to see the old palace, and gold guns. There are two of them of solid gold weighing nearly three hundred lbs. each, and four gun carriages of silver. Unfortunately we had not time to see the pearl carpet and regalia as we were obliged to leave for Bombay late the same evening.

We spent two or three days at Bombay. The public buildings are extremely fine. We were shewn over the Yacht Club, I suppose the largest Club in India. We also went through the Crawford Market, and drove to Malabar Hill, on the top of which are the Towers of Silence or Parsees' Burial Ground. There are a great number of Parsees in Bombay and many of them are very rich and charitable; they are called "Fire-worshippers," as they always have a sacred fire burning in their House of Prayer, which is never allowed to go out, or they face the sun while making their petitions, but the fire is merely symbolical of the Glory of God. The Towers of Silence are surrounded by beautiful gardens, but we were not allowed to enter on account of the plague. Round the summit of the Tower are crowds of vultures waiting for a funeral to approach. The bearers enter and place the body naked on a platform; after they have withdrawn the vultures swoop down upon the corpse and in a few moments they have picked the bones perfectly clean. Some little time after the bones are placed with others in a deep well in the Tower.

There are also a great number of Eurasians in Bombay; they were originally the offspring of European fathers and native mothers, but are now a distinct class, and intermarry among themselves; many of them are very useful to the Government.

We went in a steam launch to the celebrated Island of Elephanta. I was carried up the flight of steps (there are 200 of them), which lead to the caves in a chair fixed on poles. The roofs of the caves are supported by massive pillars, and all round the walls are monstrous figures carved out of the solid rock. They are more curious than beautiful.

Unfortunately they were terribly knocked about by the Portuguese (who let off cannons at the mouth of the caves), when they held possession of Bombay and the neighbouring islands some years ago.

The caves date from about the 10th century. In one of them is a sort of bath cut out of the solid rock. There is always a certain amount of water in this bath although it is impossible to tell where it comes from. The caves are dedicated to Siva, "the destroyer," but there are other Hindoo gods and goddesses, some of them very ugly with faces of birds and beasts.

There are a number of cobras and other snakes on the Island, also a quantity of beautiful green beetles; we bought a number of these from the children who followed us down to the water.

We had an introduction to a Hindoo gentleman in Bombay. The morning of our departure he called to say good-bye, and brought us bouquets and necklaces of flowers, and a cashmere shawl for myself and a silver card-case for my father.

We sailed from Bombay March 23rd in the "India," and were not sorry to be on board, as it was getting hotter each day in Bombay, and one could not feel really comfortable except under a punkah. We had a delightful passage, the sea was perfectly calm. The heat in the Red Sea did not affect me quite as much as I feared it would, but I believe people notice it more on their way out from England.

Her Excellency Lady Curzon was on board and we had dances and various amusements to pass away the time. Just at the entrance of the Suez Canal, the "Ophir" passed us on her way out to Ceylon.

Many of the passengers disembarked at Marseilles, but we went round by sea, and the only little bit of disagreeable weather we experienced was in the Bay of Biscay. We landed at Plymouth and went by train to London, and found it very pleasant to be in a comfortable English hotel again. We arrived home a day or two later and were glad to settle down and rest awhile after our many changes and varied experiences.

C. MILLICENT KNIGHT,
Whateley Hall.

ART. XVI.—ALFRED NOBEL AND HIS FESTIVAL.

THE present era is remarkable for the generous donations and bequests of wealthy philanthropists. A Carnegie endows a university and finally a Swedish millionaire endows humanity. To promote its welfare directly, he has erected and dowered a foundation with prizes of unprecedented value that will be annually awarded to the greatest benefactors of mankind.

The first ceremony of the distribution of these prizes took place on the tenth of December. They were awarded on the same date in Christiania and Stockholm. There were five prizes, of which the worth of each amounted to £8,000. Four of them, *viz.*, those for physics, for chemistry, for medicine, and for literature, were bestowed at Stockholm, while the fifth, the prize for peace was adjudged in the Norwegian capital. But before we note the events and circumstances of that interesting day, with its dawn of hope for humanity, we will briefly recount the career of Alfred Nobel, whose biography* has yet to be written.

He was born at Stockholm in 1833. and was the son of Immanuel Nobel, an eminent engineer and inventor. The latter emigrated with his family to St. Petersburg in 1837, where he established a manufactory of quick-firing muskets. In 1842 he made successful experiments with submarine and subterranean mines. The Russian Government rewarded him liberally and enabled him to set up an extensive laboratory. He was assisted by his sons, of whom the two eldest, Robert and Lewis, were also remarkable engineers.

The service of the mines was gradually relinquished by the Russian Government. Then the Oriental War broke out in 1854, even the models of the submarine mines were lost, and it was necessary to reconstruct them in great haste. At the instance of Immanuel Nobel, this construction was entrusted to Alfred's eldest brother, Robert, and it was said that it was owing to the excellence of the mines laid down by the latter that the English fleet was unable to force its way through the channel that led to the capital of Russia.

At the close of the Crimean War, owing to the stagnation of business that ensued, the Nobel family, with the exception of Lewis, the second son who remained at St. Petersburg, in

* His life has been sketched by A. Werner Conquist, a Swedish writer in the Swedish periodical, "*Ord och Bild*," Stockholm, January 1897, by Professor Louis Henry in "*Review des Questions Scientifiques*, April 1901, and in the *Review of Reviews*, December 1901.

order to superintend his father's manufactory, removed to Stockholm. They devoted their attention to the improvement of explosives, and made experiments with that object in the preparation of nitro-glycerine. In the year 1862 Immanuel Nobel invented a new form of that dangerous explosive which was called Nobel's blasting oil. Shortly after Alfred made an improvement in his father's invention and took out his first patent in 1863.

His first important discovery was an improved method of exploding nitro-glycerine. After many investigations he arrived at the conclusion, that to produce the complete explosion of that substance, a preparatory detonation was needful; and he invented a glass tube with a percussion cap for that purpose (in 1864). His new contrivance was subsequently employed successfully with gun-cotton.

A fatal mishap arrested for a time Nobel's activity. A terrible explosion in which his youngest brother, Oscar, lost his life, took place in a manufactory of blasting oil in a suburb of Stockholm. In consequence it was forbidden for a time to make that explosive on dry land, and its preparation was only permitted in a vessel moored out at sea. After some improvements, however, it came into general use for mining and in the construction of railroads and highways. He subsequently received permission from the Swedish Government to found a nitro-glycerine company. Several manufactories were established in Sweden and with the aid of German capital a company was started at Hamburg under the name of Nobel and Co. in 1865. A French company was formed in 1871.

Nevertheless owing to the danger attending the employment of nitro-glycerine in the form of blasting oil, its use was prohibited in America, where it had caused some terrible explosions. The danger was owing to its liquid form, and the leakage which often ensued. Nobel applied himself to remedy that defect. He perceived it was necessary to transform blasting oil into a solid, and in that intent, mixed it with a sand,* that absorbed its own weight of the explosive. He called the new compound dynamite, and took out a patent in 1867.

The world is fully aware of the importance of that great invention, that is even still more generally employed in peace than in war. For a time, however, it fell into evil repute, owing to the unholy use to which it was put both by Communists and Anarchists. In France its manufacture was

* *Kieselguhr*. "A very finely-powdered silicious substance composed of the shells of fossilized *infusoria*." Review of Reviews. December 1901.

erected into a monopoly, which was granted in 1871 to Nobel's French Company[†] that set up a fabric at Porto-Vendres on the Mediterranean. Another fabric was established in Scotland at Ardeer, where it is said a tenth part of all the nitro-glycerine employed throughout the world is prepared.

But Nobel was not yet content with his inventions. After repeated experiments he found it possible to replace the sand in use with nitro-cellulose, that while it increased the force of the explosion still further diminished the risk attended with its employment and altogether precluded leakage. It obtained a patent in 1876, and was named *gun-dynamite*, and when combined with salts, *extra-dynamite*. It was a perfect explosive and surpassed all inventions of the kind.

By increasing the proportion of nitro-cellulose in its combination with nitro-glycerine, Nobel invented the smokeless powder, that is used in every army. Apart from its practical importance this discovery from a scientific point of view was most remarkable: two substances, each of which ignites by itself a thousand times more rapidly than 'gun powder, are made by combination to ignite even more slowly than the latter. Subsequently Nobel still further improved his smokeless powder or ballistite by varying the igniting velocity of the tubical grains of which it is composed. The development of gas was thereby increased and a uniform pressure given to the missile, while it was still in the bore.

Nobel subsequently united with his elder brothers, in founding a company for the purpose of utilizing the petroleum wells in South-Eastern Russia. Robert, the eldest of the brothers, was chiefly instrumental in developing that industry that is now known throughout the world, but which before their efforts was merely a local one. They invented cistern-waggon and cistern-ships, and thus reduced the price of transport to a fraction of its former cost.

In his private life Nobel was exemplary. He was a model son. His affection for his mother, a woman of remarkable character who died at an advanced age, was not replaced by any stronger attachment, and so he remained unmarried. Her birthday was a family festival to celebrate which he was wont to return to Stockholm, despite his multifarious duties in distant lands. He was, besides, a model employer of labour, and so contented were his workmen, whose number amounted to some 24,000, that no strike was ever known in the factories that were under his own or indeed under his brothers' direction. He was amiable and unassuming, making little case of outward distinctions. He was also extremely generous, and contributed with his fortune and influence to succour his countrymen abroad and to promote their welfare.

He had a high opinion of the Swedish system of scientific study, and in consequence he entrusted the award of the prizes for science under his foundation to the learned institutions of his countrymen ; he was almost as partial to Norwegians, to whom he left the responsible task of adjudging the prize for peace.

He bequeathed an immense fortune. Nearly £2,000,000,* of which he disposed in the following way : " The capital should be transformed to a fund of which the yearly interest should be distributed in prizes to those, who, during the year preceding their award, had benefited mankind the most. The interest of the capital was to be divided into five equal parts, of which one part should be bestowed on the person, who had made the most important discovery or improvement in physics ; a second part was to be bestowed for a similar success in chemistry ; a third was reserved for the greatest discovery in physiology or medicine ; a fourth should be bestowed on the man of letters, whose works were the most remarkable from an ideal point of view ; and a fifth part was to be given to the most efficient promoter of the fraternization of nations and of the abolition or diminution of standing armies, who had also been the most active in assembling and popularizing peace congresses. The prizes for physics and chemistry should both be awarded by the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. The prize for physiology or medicine was to be conferred by the Caroline Medical Institute on the same capital. The prize for literature should be decided by the Swedish Academy, while the champion of peace should be rewarded by a Committee of five persons that were to be appointed by the Norwegian Parliament." " It is my express wish," so Nobel worded his testament, " that in the distribution of the prizes, nationality should not be taken into consideration, so that the worthiest may gain the prize, whether he be Scandinavian or not." It is plain that Nobel desired first and foremost a fair field and no favour, and it was quite a secondary object with him to raise the prestige of his own country and his sister kingdom by leaving to them the honour of the award.

He died on the tenth of December (1896). It is to commemorate the anniversary of his death, that the annual ceremony of the prize-distribution is fixed for that date.

II.—THE CEREMONY OF DECEMBER 10TH AT CHRISTIANIA.

The Norwegian Capital had long anticipated it with a certain

* The total sum amounted to 46,000,000 francs, that after reductions by taxation, etc., realized about £1,680,000. That sum invested at 3 per cent. would bring in about £50,000 per annum, or £10,000 for each of its five prizes. Owing to deductions arising from the cost of administration and other expenses, the sum yearly allotted to each prize will not exceed £8,000.

feeling of pride. The Parliament of Norway had been entrusted with the honorable task of choosing the Committee that should award the prize for peace, the great and novel feature of the Nobel-foundation. It was the general opinion that Durant, the originator of the Red-Cross of Geneva, would be the successful candidate. Though the Red-Cross had been conspicuous on every field of battle that had been fought within the last quarter of a century, yet the noble name of its designer was all but forgot. It was rumoured that he was in straitened circumstances, neglected and forlorn, there was the more reason therefore by a splendid and substantial recognition of his services to succour his declining years. Still there was a doubt about his success ; however meritorious was his work in mitigating the horrors of war by his care for the wounded, he had not directly laboured to abolish standing armies, or to assemble peace-conferences, as the regulation for the award of the prize prescribed ; yet through his humanity for the wounded irrespective of nationality, it could be said that he had indirectly promoted the fraternity of nations.

The name of Passy was also mentioned in connection with the prize for peace, and the supposition that the award would ignore neither of these candidates was justified by the event.

The town had the aspect of a quiet fête. The festivity was enhanced by the presence of the German fleet, that had arrived a few days before. It was the most powerful fleet that had ever approached Christiania, and it was the object of general interest, even if the immense battle-ships did not harmonize with the peaceful character of the occasion. The actual ceremony commenced at the unusually early hour of 10 o'clock in the *Storting* or Norwegian House of Parliament. Nearly all its members were present, and the majority bore the national order, the Cross of St. Olaf with its broad majenta ribband. As the ladies who were present wore a quiet morning toilette, the cross and ribband were perhaps the sole ornamental features of the festival that was distinguished by its sober character, by the complete absence of all pomp, especially of the pomp of war, an absence that was in harmony with the great homage paid to peace. Not a uniform was to be seen. Even Prince Henry of Russia, the brother of the German Emperor, wore plain clothes. The Royal Family was represented by Prince Charles, the King's third son, and Princess Ingeberg (of Denmark) his wife.

The Committee, to whom the task devolved of awarding the prize, took their places in front of the speaker's desk. That body, which, as we have already mentioned, consisted of five members, included, Steen, the Norwegian Prime minister, Loevland, one of the Ministers of State, and the Poet Bjornson.

The speaker (Ar. Berner) opened the ceremony with a pithy speech: "The Norwegian people," he said, "has ever been minded to maintain its independence, and has ever been willing to defend it. But at the same time a lively inclination and desire for peace has permeated that people. In peace and good understanding with other nations our country has wished to work for its intellectual and material development. This main thought has repeatedly and with increasing force found expression through Norway's Parliament

Time after time that Parliament has pronounced in favour of the conclusion of treaties of peace and arbitration with foreign powers, in order to prevent disputes from being decided by an appeal to arms, and to ensure a righteous decision by peaceable ways.

"We may well believe that this inclination and lively desire of the Norwegian people for peace, and a good understanding between nations, a sentiment which has thus found expression through our National Assembly induced Dr. Alfred Nobel to confide to the Parliament of Norway through the agency of five chosen men the honorable task of awarding the prize to the man who has shown that he is most deserving through his labours in behalf of peace and brotherhood among nations.

"To-day when the prize for peace is to be awarded for the first time, our thoughts turn in reverent gratitude towards the man, who was high-minded enough, and had foresight enough to raise the great problems of civilization,—and among them in the first rank the work for peace and fraternity of nations,—to the foremost place of honour. It is our hope that what he has done to promote this great object may lead to a result that will correspond to the giver's noble intention."

The Chairman of the Nobel-Committee then announced that it awarded the prize for peace to Henri Durant and Frederic Passy, who should share its value.

After a few additional words by the speaker of the house in which he expressed the hope that the event of that day "might encourage the nations and in the first place national assemblies to strive through co-operation to promote peace and arbitration between the peoples" the brief ceremony came to an end, amid the approval of the spectators at the choice of the Committee. The whole affair, which scarce lasted half an hour, was distinguished by its simplicity and at the same time dignity.

The career of Henri Durant, that was bound up in the foundation of the Red Cross Society, has already been indicated. With regard to Frederic Passy, who shared the prize, we may mention that he was born at Paris in 1822 (he is therefore

a little older than Durant who was born in 1828, at Geneva). He was educated as a jurist, but early devoted his attention to the study of scientific and economical questions. At the age of twenty-six he wrote a book, in which the reforms that during the last *décades* have taken place in French schools were advocated. With the help of a few colleagues he established a course of lectures on political and social questions and travelled through the French provinces in order to deliver them. He acquired great consideration among his countrymen in that way. It was partly owing to the influence his talented pen exercised that war was averted between France and Prussia about Luxembourg towards the close of the empire. He then founded the "international and permanent league of peace," the name of which was changed later to "the French Union of the Friends of Peace" at the head of which society he continued to preside. He has always laboured for the cause of peace as well as for the diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment. He was one of the first to conceive the thought that the parliaments of the world should unite to avert war. He was thus the principal founder of the Interparliamentary Union of Peace and Arbitration, was its first president in 1888 and 1889, and has always been one of its most active members.

III.—THE CEREMONY OF STOCKHOLM.

It was far longer and more elaborate than the ceremony that took place on the same day* at Christiania. There were four prizes to be awarded; the number of the candidates was of course larger; and instead of one small legislative body, represented by a single Committee there were three learned bodies, represented by as many Committees, that participated in the award. The large hall of the Academy of Music was the scene of the festival. The most distinguished members of Stockholm Society, including the Crown-Prince attended; and the interest of the occasion was still further enhanced by the presence of the prize winners with the exception of the French poet, who had won the palm for literature.

The ceremony commenced with a festival overture that was conducted by the Chief Court Director of Music. Boström the Prime Minister, and President of the Nobel-foundation, next addressed the company in a long speech in which he pointed out the merits of the founder. Wärsen, a poet and a member of the Swedish Academy (that corresponds to the French Academy), then recited a poem of his own composition in which he feelingly alluded to the honour and respon-

* The writer, who was present at the ceremony of Christiania, was for that reason prevented from attending the proceedings at Stockholm.

sibility that had befallen Sweden through the nobility of her great son. A choir of men's voices under the leadership of a second musical director, sung one of the favourite songs of Sweden and the award of the prizes began.

The first was the prize for physics. Odhner, the President of the Swedish Academy of Science, announced that Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen was the successful candidate owing to the discovery with which his name is knitted—of the Roentgen rays, or as their discoverer preferred to call them of the X-rays.

In the course of his address the President remarked that the real nature of the radiation of energy was still unknown, but that many characteristic qualities of that energy had been discovered first by Roentgen and subsequently by other physicists who had devoted their researches to the subject. He thought that there was little doubt, but that the physical sciences would make far more extensive acquisitions, when that peculiar form of energy was more adequately investigated and its wide sphere thoroughly examined. He remarked in conclusion that the reward of the discoverer with a Nobel prize must be considered in an eminent grade corresponding to the legator's views. He then addressed Roentgen, who sat in the platform with the remaining prize winners, and taking his hand, led him off to the Crown-Prince, who amid prolonged applause handed to the famous discoverer a diploma in an artistic binding.

Odhner next announced that the prize for chemistry was awarded to Jacobus Henricus Van't Hoff for his epoch-making work in osmotic pressure and chemical dynamics. "Through his investigations," continued the speaker "of the theory of atoms and on the subject of molecules, Van't Hoff has made the most important discoveries for the theory of chemistry that have been made since Dalton's time.

First with regard to the theory of atoms Van't Hoff, adhering to a thought omitted by Pasteur had established the hypotheses of fixed rallying points* geometrically arranged in space, for elementary atoms; and that view as regards carburets, led to the theory of the asymmetry of carbonic atoms and to the foundation of stereo chemistry. Van't Hoff's discoveries in the theory of molecules were even more complete. The law, which is named after the Italian Avogadro and which determined that the number of gas-molecules in a given volume are alike for all gases, if the pressure and the temperature are the same, was developed through Van't Hoff's investigations, so that it holds equally good

* In Swedish *antagningspunkter*: apparently a neologism, signifying literally 'building up' or constructing.

for matter in solution ; provided that the pressure in the latter, the so-called osmotic pressure, is taken into consideration in the same way that it is with gas pressure. He demonstrated the identity of gas pressure and osmotic pressure ; and therewith the identity of the molecule in a gaseous state with the molecule in a solution ; whereby the molecular theory gained a consistency and validity that had not previously been suspected. He found, too, the expression for the chemical balance in transformations, and the electric motory force that reaction can produce ; he explained, too, the transitions between the elements' various modifications, between hydrates with different proportions of water, the formation of double salts, etc., etc.

By the application of these simple principles originally derived from mechanics and thermal dynamics, Van't Hoff has been one of the founders of chemical dynamics. His investigations have essentially promoted the immense development of physical chemistry ; and in that sphere his discoveries have been met by the great contribution that other researchers, even in our country,* have made in electro-chemistry, and in the theory of chemical reaction. New and vast prospects have thus been opened for researches in natural science. In another respect the elucidation of the *status* in solutions has induced the greatest practical results of which the advantage for mankind will be best perceived, when we reflect that chemical reactions principally take place in solutions, and that the vital functions of living organisms are maintained through the transformations of matter that are effected in the solutions.

The next prize awarded was for medicine. Count Möerner, the Rector of the Caroline Institute at Stockholm and the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee appointed by that body, addressed the audience in a long speech, in which after referring to the interest that Nobel took in medical science, and the unexampled progress that that science had made in the second half of last century, which had been so fruitful in brilliant discoveries, he remarked that though it was not possible even to indicate them by name, " it may be permitted me to mention bacteriology, and to remind you of Pasteur, the founder of that great system,—of Robert Koch, who, in the same department, has made such brilliant discoveries—of Lister, who has opened the way for the beneficent application of the new science to surgery." He emphasized the importance of bacteriology not only for surgery but for medicine. " Through our knowledge of *bacteria* as the *fosterers* of disease, and through our insight into their conditions of existence, the possibility has been disclosed of controlling disease even in

* Sweden.

cases in which *bacteria* have already succeeded in winning a firm foot-hold, and in developing themselves within the organism. And the most brilliant example of what has hitherto been attained in that respect is offered in diphtheria.

"So far back as the knowledge of human disease can be traced, diphtheria, and the variety of that disease, called *quinsy*, has been one of the scourges of humanity. At times, indeed, it has diminished, so that it has apparently died out, but always after the elapse of some time, it has flickered up again, and often spread as a devastating epidemic of greater or less extent. For several decades it has now prevailed in the various countries of the civilized world." He then alluded to the terrible ravage of diphtheria in previous ages, and remarked that at the present time it was comparatively free from danger owing to the excellent weapon with which they were now armed against it.

"The year 1883 marks a turning point in the history of diphtheria. It is true that before that date the opinion had been held by a few that diphtheria was a disease, which was owing to *bacteria*, but on the other hand that view was contested by eminent specialists. There was, however, no positive knowledge in the subject, and the scientific explanation of problem was still lacking. Still less could it be said that we possessed any positive knowledge of the kind of parasite which fostered the disease."

In that year Loeffler completed his comprehensive and extremely important research on the bacteria of diphtheria; and that work has laid the foundation of the further development of the theory of the disease. Through Loeffler's work the enemy was thus compelled to throw off his mask, and he discloses his mode of warfare. To turn the enemy's weapon against himself was reserved for subsequent labours.

The *bacteria* fostering the disease produce in general poisons, and by their means infect the individual in which they are developed. It is on account of these poisons that *bacteria* become so dangerous. It has, however, showed itself that under advantageous conditions the poisons could cause the organism to foster substances, that would render them innocuous and even counteract the bacteria's development. The individual in whom such a state of "immunity" has developed itself can become unsusceptible for the *bacterium* in question, and at the same time be able to resist the effect of the poisons it generates." Science has succeeded in taking another step, that is of the utmost practical importance both with regard to diphtheria and other diseases. Blood humour,—the matter that is called blood *serum*,—taken from an individual who has acquired immunity against the poison of a certain

bacterium can, by its introduction into another individual's organism, enable him to resist that bacterium and its ravages. It is upon this principle, that modern serum-therapeutics are grounded.* It is in combating diphtheria that *serum*-therapeutics have hitherto in the foremost place won such brilliant results; its importance is not, however, limited to that disease, but stretches infinitely beyond it. The sphere, that through the development of serum-therapeutics has been opened to research is therefore—for the present time—beyond the power to survey. In that sphere much has been already done, and we are justified in expecting far greater progress.

It is to the pioneer of this new path of medical research, to Professor Emil von Behring, that the Caroline Institutes Preceptors' College, has decided to award the Medical Nobel-prize of the year."

As Count Moerner has dwelt so little on the actual career of Emil von Behring, we will venture to add a few words: He was born at Hansdorff in the year 1854, obtained the degree of M.D. in 1878, and served as a Military Doctor in Posen, Bonn and Berlin, until he became (in 1889) an Assistant of the Hygienical Institute of the German Capital.

His great life work was devoted to *serum*-therapeutic. In the year 1890 he prepared an effective *serum* against *tetanus* and shortly after he succeeded in producing a diphtheria *serum*, that is both prophylactic and curative in its effect. Numerous experiments have subsequently shown that this serum was as easy to apply as it was innocuous in its results. For his work on that subject *Entdeckung der Ätiologischen oder Blutserum-therapie* (discovery in etiology or blood serum therapeutics) he received a prize of £1,800 from the Paris Academy of Medicine, at the same time as his French colleague and precursor Roux; and a prize of £2,000 from the Academy of Sciences (L'Institut) in the same capital. Behring handed over his prize to the State with the view of encouraging further research in *serum*-therapeutics. He subsequently published some classical and epoch-making works* on the origin of contagious diseases and on their treatment and on the fruitful result of bacteriology for internal medicines.

The prize for literature was the last on the list. Wirsén to whom it fell to announce the award, remarked that literature also owed a debt of gratitude to Nobel, the award of the Nobel prize for that subject offered especial difficulties: "Literature

* "Die Blutserum therapie" (1892 i-ii). "Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur ätiologischen therapie von an—steckender krankheiten" (1893). "Die Geschichte der Diphtherie" (1893). "Die Bekämpfung der Infektions krankheiten" (1894). "Allgemeine therapie der Infektions krankheiten" 1898). "Beiträge zur experimenteller therapie" (1898).

was a comprehensive term. The Nobel statutes prescribe that under that head, where it was a question of defining the subjects for which a prize should be offered, not only *belles-lettres*, but other branches that have literary merit through their form and style should be included. But thus the field was enlarged, and the difficulties were increased. If it be already difficult to decide, when the candidates have equal merit, whether the prize should be awarded to a lyric, or epic, or dramatic poet, the task is still further complicated, when it imports to make a choice between the merits of a distinguished historian or a great philosopher, or of a gifted bard." Many excellent proposals had been made to the Swedish Academy with regard to the choice of candidates, but that body had selected from among the names of many who were almost equal in talent, one name that in their opinion should take precedence in the present occasion. It has awarded the first Nobel prize for literature to the "poet and thinker" Sully Prudhomme, member of the French Academy. "Sully Prudhomme was born in March 16th in 1839, and burst open the world as a ripe poet in his 'Stanzas and Poems' in 1865. That work has been followed by others that are partly poetical, partly philosophical, partly prosodical. If the imagination of other singers is for the most part directed outwards, if it mirrors external nature and the people's life, Sully Prudhomme has a more inward turned genius, as spiritual as it is fine feeling. His poesy is seldom concerned with external images, except in the measure that they may serve for political contemplation. His soul's love, his doubt, his unrest that nothing in the world can calm, are the wonted themes of his muse, that is of finished form, and in its chiselled beauty retracts from each needless expletive. As a rule his poetry lacks colours, and only by way of exception has a melodious and musical character, but it is therefore the more plastic in the creation of forms for feeling and idea. A noble, sad and thoughtful soul finds expression in that poesy, which is tender, but not sentimental, while its pained analysis of self, attunes the reader to sorrowful sympathy. Through the infinitely refined charm of his diction and through his masterful art, Sully Prudhomme is one of the greatest poets of our time, and among his poems there are pearls of imperishable value. It was not Sully Prudhomme's mere abstract, argumentative and didactic poems that in the foremost place fastened the Academy's attention; but they were his shorter contemplative and feeling lyrics that captivated by their dignity and nobility as well as by a rare union of fine reflection and a full heart.

There is yet another trait : Sully Prudhomme's authorship

reveals questioning and inquiring soul that finds no rest in the temporal ; and since to his sorrow a knowledge of the invisible seems unattainable to him, still in the domain of ethics in the voice of conscience, in duty and high command, it finds the witness of man's superhuman destiny. From that point of view he represents more truly than the plurality of authors, what the testator has named 'the ideal' in literature, and it is therefore the Academy's belief, that it has acted in the spirit of the testament when for the first award of the prize among the names of many great and brilliant men of letters, it has set its choice on Sully Prudhomme."

A few formalities ensued and the novel and momentous ceremony came to a conclusion. In the evening a banquet took place at which the prize winners were present, with the exception to which we have alluded. The Swedish Premier, Bostrom, drank the health of the King and Crown-Prince, the latter, in the course of his reply, thanked the Nobel-Committee for their responsible labours in which the whole civilized world had sympathized with high hopes and followed with an interest that was so well grounded. Wirsén made a speech in honour of Sully Prudhomme, and turning to M. Marchand, the French Minister at Stockholm, he begged him to bring a greeting to the French Academy from its Swedish sister, that was now rejoiced to send from the land of Tegnér and Geijer prize of honour to the land of Racine, Corneille, and Victor Hugo.

Professor Behring, the winner of the prize for medicine, in reply to a speech of Count Möerner, laid stress on the greatness inherent to the Swedish national genius ; it found an expression in ancient saga, in storied feats of war, and also in the present great work of peace.

Professor Cleve, the President of the Nobel-Committee, elected by the Swedish Academy of Science, to award the prize for chemistry, addressing Van't Hoff emphasized the fact that that prize was not bestowed merely for discoveries, but also for new theories, and at the same time cited Van't Hoff as illustrating the power of theories. The latter thanked the Swedish men of science, who had aided him in his researches and more particularly Professor Cleve, Petterson and Arrhenius. He reminded his hearers that one of his most important treatises was published in the transactions of the Swedish Academy of Science.

Professor Roentgen, the winner of the prize for physics, made an interesting speech. "From his childhood," he said, "he had been more familiar with Norse Mythology than with Greek. He had always been impressed with the saga and adventure therein, and now he experienced himself a new

adventure of a Norse Saga. It seemed like a dream, but it was a joyful reality.

To-day the heir of a 'royal and popular house bestowed splendid prizes, presented by a son of the people, at the proposal of Swedish scientific men. In that noble co-operation of the royal house, of the people, and of men of science, the speaker perceived that which was peculiarly and honorably Scandinavian (*Nordisk*). He would openly admit that he had not thought that he would be recollected in the award of the prize, but now that it was adjudged to him, he desired to explain that he intended to devote it in the spirit of the founder to the disinterested assistance of the further development of science."

So ended the festival, perhaps the most originally humane of modern times. But would we apprise it truly, we must soar in imagination beyond the day far into the future; year after year, the champion of peace encouraged by a splendid tribute, will strive still more unweariedly for that sacred cause; the devoted physician will be enabled to triumph over inveterate diseases that now scourge the human race; the great chemist will find help to make discoveries that will influence our destiny; physicists will solve problems that baffled unaided geniuses; and last, but not least, the poet, ignoring a vitiated task, will have strength to raise aloft the noble banner of idealism that points ever upward and onward. Chill poverty will no longer 'freeze the genial current of the soul' of the world's greatest benefactors; and men may look back on the tenth day of December Anno Domini 1901, as the dawn of a brighter era, the morning gleam of the century.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

NOTE :—The writer ventures to remind those of your readers who might wish to compete for a Nobel-prize that they should address themselves, in order to obtain the necessary information; (1) as regards the prize for peace to Hr. Louge, Secretary of the Nobel-Committee, Viktoria Terrasse, Christiania, Norway; (2) for the prizes for chemistry and physics to the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee of the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm; (3) for the prize for medicine to the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee of the *Karolinska Institutet* at Stockholm; (4) and for the prize for literature to the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee of the Swedish Academy in the last named capital.

It is required by the regulations, of the Nobel-foundation that all candidates should be proposed by the universities-

learned bodies, or parliaments of the country* to which they belong. All proposals by such bodies with a view to the competitions of candidates together with the treatises or works of the latter must be forwarded to the Nobel-Committee concerned before February 1st. of the year in which the candidates would contend for a prize.

The award of the prizes for physics, chemistry, and medicine will not wholly depend on the treatises or works published in the course of the preceding year as the regulations might lead us to suppose. Other circumstances, such as the career and the labours of the candidate will be taken into consideration. No very hard and fast line will be drawn, so as to exclude works or treatises published before the year preceding the award. It is expected, however, that they should be very recent, something in the nature of the 'last thing.'

The regulations of the Nobel-foundation have not yet been drawn up in as explicit a form as could be wished. It is not explained in them (the writer only has elicited this fact) that it is the wish of the Nobel-Committees that the various learned bodies, universities, medical faculties, academies of science, literary academies, parliaments and outer parliaments, etc., should take the initiative in proposing candidates; but the latter on their side should not neglect to address the Academy, Parliament or Institute concerned.

There was an ambiguity that is to be regretted with regard to the prize for medicines of last year; while Scandinavian medical institutes were expressly indicated as having the right to propose candidates, the medical faculties enjoying a similar privilege in non-Scandinavian countries were not indicated in the regulation, and as far as the writer has been able to discover, have not yet been indicated. Apparently it is intended that the best known medical faculties throughout the world should propose the candidate for medicine, and it is said that a list of these faculties will be drawn up.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

* It is not precisely stated in the regulation that candidates must be proposed by the learned bodies, parliaments, etc., of *their own country*. But conversation that the writer has had with the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee has learnt that this is the intention.

ART. XVII —CREDE'S LAMENT FOR CAEL.

(From the Irish.)

Moans the haven,
As the wave on Rinn da Barc
Rolls. For the chief from Lough da Thóinn
To the billows moaning hark.

How the crane
In the wet marsh, straining wide
Covering wings, her nestlings twain
From the sly fox fain would hide.

Dead the swan
Floats adown the water wan ;
While his brood, in mute surprise,
Bend sad eyes their sire upon.

Left alone
Hear the stag in thicket groan,
Mourning for his slaughtered hind,
Pouring on the wind his moan.

Sadly rise
From yon grove the thrush's cries :
While the blackbird's mellow throat
With as sad a note replies.

Shall I fail,
When e'en beasts and birds bewail,
And winds and waves and water-springs,
Those lifeless things, my slaughtered Cael ?

Dead, aye dead
Lies my hero, cold and dead ;
'Neath the bitter sea at rest ;—
Pillowed but my breast his head !

Tears a shower,
As they tower, the billows pour.
No more joy in life have I
Now that my brave lord's no more.

Glad the days
When my suitors brought me lays
Many an one, to pay me court :
Me and my fair fort to praise.

Cael drew near
In his turn, and to mine ear
Words so sweet he knew to use
That I could not choose but hear.

Since we wed
All too fast the moments sped.
Angry aspect ne'er wore he,
Harsh word ne'er to me he said.

Pale with fear
Grew the foe as he drew near,
Many a chief of loftiest mien
Felt the keen thrust of his spear.

In the field
Sword or spear no more he'll wield,
Nor to weapon-stroke shall sound
E'er again his rounded shield.

What is left
Me now death the band hath cleft?
What more joy can earth afford
Me, of my dear lord bereft ?

Requiem grand
Ring the waves upon the strand.—
Why didst thou Cael to my grief
Chase that chief beyond the land,

When he fled
From the field of battle red ?
Why didst thou in following him
Plunge and swim out toward yon head ?

Thinking thee
One of theirs who strove to flee,
Lay they on their oars at rest
Paused nor pressed on out to sea.

O'er the side
Stretched his hand that chief of pride
From the ship, and thy strong grip
Seized, dragged him down into the tide.

Down together
To the nether sands, 'neath sea tides cold,
Went ye under, ne'er to sunder
More from that grim hold ;

Sad the strain
On the shore sung by the main.—
Death draws nigh to me, I fly
To my lord my Cael again.

Sad the stave
On the strand beat by the wave.—
When I go here lay me low
Here on the shore scoop out my grave.

M. R. WELD.

From the *Cabh Finntraga*, the battle of Ventry. Edited and translated by Professor Kuno Meyer. *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediæval and Modern Series*. Vol. I, pt. 4.

* Nine Irish stanzas are given in the original, which I have translated in the measure of the original stanzas imitating the rhymes, which recur *within* the lines as well as at the end, the interval rhyming syllable being frequently not the last

syllable of a word, *e.g.*, in Stanza 1, besides the final rhymes *barc* and *hark*, there are *haven*, *wave-on*, *Thōnn* and *Moan-ing*.*

The substance of the other stanzas is from the prose of the romance, their form is after that of the nine stanzas mentioned above.

- Crede chose Cael for her husband at a function similar to the Swayambara at which Damayanti chose Nala.—M. R. W.

*[This is like what there is also in Persian poetical measures.—ED., C. R.]

THE QUARTER.

SINCE our last issue some events have been hastening and others have newly sprung up—some of portentous significance as will be seen below. China, for the time being, almost sinks out of view, though its relations with European and neighbouring States have furnished the cause of the greatest political mistake made by England in modern times—we refer to the Anglo-Japanese alliance. We shall notice this in its place. India, at the same time, furnishes us with a more than usually full and varied record of events. It is necessary, therefore, to be brief even to a fault.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "WAR".—This still drags on with varying success on either side. During twelve months past the Boers have had altogether killed 1,717 and wounded 1,244, and the British—officers killed 209, wounded 420, missing and prisoners 60; and men killed 2,128, wounded 4,197. These numbers do not include prisoners or voluntary surrenders or losses from disease and accidents. It will be seen that our losses are three times as many as those of the enemy. It is stated that our total deaths since the beginning of the war number over 20,000 officers and men. In the month of November last alone there were killed and wounded officers 64, and men 532! Our losses in officers have been so heavy since the beginning of the war that it is difficult now to fill up vacancies with the old superior class, and we are obliged to take up inferior material! In one action at Twefontein, the British losses amounted to 14 officers killed and wounded, 52 men killed, and half the column made prisoners. The Boers also still have their uninvaded independent territory in the north, with their Executive Governments, and also places of arms and recruiting centres, even in Cape Colony! It is not strange, then, that we are calling for more help from the colonies, (imagine the pass we are in when we seek help from small colonies, and ally ourselves with an inconsiderable half-bankrupt Asiatic power against Russia!) and—paying tight for it. For these our losses in mere men, owing to this insane, fratricidal and really "civil" war, is not the worst, or all. We have lost all over the East our old position and *prestige*, we have given place to Germany, Russia and France, and obliged to seek the assistance of Japan to maintain any position at all! We are in trouble with Turkey (and Germany) over Koweit, and Russia bodes something even in regard to Persia. Even the new

ruler of Afghanistan, whom we considered as dependent for his security on the breath of our mouth, has seen fit, as we shall see further on, to snub us openly on the continent. We have acquired a fund of hatred, which, in Germany, has barely been staved off from breaking into war, and which is surely telling on our relations with the great European countries. And internally, England is divided against itself, political parties are still further splitting up, serious Irish troubles coming to a head, trade diminishing, taxes increasing, and several hundred millions of money being sunk irretrievably—in the “War,” which, in South Africa, will, in any and every case, have a terrible legacy of future conflagrations and undying animosity to be wiped out in blood. In truth, the whole world, and not the British Empire alone, is in a state bordering on a great and Universal War, which is not merely possible, but sure to come. It behoves us, then, to “put our house in order,” and if we have descended so low as to form an alliance with Japan, we may even at this the “last” hour condescend to take our brave brother and fellow-Christian “Boer” by the hand, “save his face,” proclaim a general amnesty, and give him some little territory—without the Rand—to hold as his own, his teeth and claws drawn, and no further danger, but probable help, for ever. There will be found in our present number, a paper by a loyal South African which shows how matters may yet be mended and we direct attention to it. Generals Louis Botha, De LaRey and De Wet are still to the fore, and it seems there are as many as seventy recognised Commandoes and bands of the enemy still in the field under them, twenty-six in the Transvaal, thirty-one in Orange River State, and thirteen in Cape Colony. Botha has indeed proved an able General and successor to old Joubert who selected him, and might well take rank with the best “field marshal” in Europe. We may also as well take the frank course of telling “the truth and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,” instead of manufacturing lies to our hurt. Here is what we find in the columns of the *Times* itself:—

“At * * * * * lost his head, and ordered the immediate evacuation of the place on the rumour of a Boer column, which never came, and we left there 1,000 suits of soldiers’ clothing and 8,000 pounds of stores, which the Boers have used since. At * * * * * we evacuated again in a funk and left behind us 25,000 rounds of ammunition and stores. Now * * * * * was sent away from * * * * * not in disgrace, but to a high post elsewhere. Truly the ways of the Army are wonderful, the Press of London should insist on disasters being reported. We have heard, on the authority of men and traders who were near the sites of the disasters, that within the last month, seventy of one regiment have surrendered

in Cape Colony in one batch, sixty of another regiment in a batch, and ninety of a third in another batch in the Free State, and hundreds of individual men, and no mention has been made in our papers here."

The following figures also tell a tale which would make a black Kafir negro's cheek blush:—Of some 115 000 whites, mostly women and children in the "Concentration" Camps, during October and November, there were 5,963 deaths, of which 4,904 were children, and during December there were 2,380 deaths, including 1,767 children—over 8,000 deaths—literally *decimation*—nearly 7,000 being those of children! The "War" has now actually degenerated into bare murder. A despatch says, that "though the Boer Commandants have the will they have no longer the power to repress outrage and murder on the part of their subordinates." A letter from Commandant Fouché states, that "he had shot two Connaught Rangers who were captured." The bodies cannot be found. A French journal, too, states that General Botha is detaining five English officers in his camp, and has warned Lord Kitchener that they "will be shot if Kritzinger, who has been captured, is sentenced to death by Court Martial." Finally, another conspiracy has been discovered just in time, and we may predict that Johannesburg, where it occurred, will be the scene of many another conspiracy and plot—*Britishers* ("Boers") *themselves being the leaders*. We pass on to

OTHER COUNTRIES.—China is settling down in right earnest to reform, and it seems pretty evident that the Empress had been deceived as to the "Boxer" movement. The Court has returned to Peking, and missionaries everywhere are protected. The "dragon," however, has only been hurt, not killed. What the future may bring forth, with or without reforming Empresses and Emperors, no one will dare venture to predict. China objects to make over Manchooria to Russia, and yet Russia has it, and will keep it in spite of Japan, America and England.

Japan, from an inconsiderable state, has suddenly been accorded front rank by England by what is, in effect, an offensive and defensive alliance against Germany, France and Russia. It reminds us of the blunder made by England during the progress of the late war when she went behind Russia's back to form an agreement with Germany, which came to nothing, and which was, it may be said, the direct incentive to Russia making a separate agreement with China about Manchooria. Neither Germany nor Russia, who have been neglected and distrusted, will say anything now; but whereas it was possible before to secure either Germany as against Russia, or Russia as against Germany, NOW they have

both been alienated from us, both been thrown together as against us, and both, along with France, be found allied against us in war. This is the greatest political blunder ever perpetrated by England in modern times, and is the direct outcome of the small Transvaal War and the senile ineptitude and juvenile inefficiency of the "man-in-the-street" Salisbury *cum* Chamberlain Ministry. Alas! that we should have to write thus at the very beginning of the reign of one of the best and wisest of Kings who have graced the throne of England. But what must be must be, for it is the Devil who drives, for "he knows that his time is short." The world is gathering to the great Battle of Armageddon. The first steps were taken with the interest the Jew Minister of England acquired in the Suez Canal, and his casting a false glare of "Imperialism" into British politics, were continued by the German Emperor's "scramble" for territory in Africa and other parts of the globe and our seizing Egypt, and now are seen in world-wide combinations of States one against another. Let us pass on.

In the Persian Gulf, on the Arabian side, at Koweit, which the German Emperor wants for the terminus of his Syrian Railway, we have also succeeded, by the unwise apprehensions of Lord Curzon as some think,—from his published sentiments,—to pit ourselves against both Germany and Turkey. We are determined to maintain the *status quo*, as if any *status quo* has ever been maintained anywhere in any age of the world. On the Persian side of the Gulf Russia is also advancing her influence, and we have the unique spectacle of our thwarting Russia and Germany both together in their aims in China, and also in Turkey and Asia and Persia. Can the result be doubted, or what it bodes even to India? We may leave France and Japan out of the calculation. "Our Colonies" here will be of little help to us; and even America will be found to take the course indicated by her own interests, which course does not appear quite plain perhaps seize Canada!

Finally, in Asia, Cabul, which we have regarded, and rightly, as going together with India, as subsidised by us, and whose territories are guaranteed by us, the new Ruler, who was considered most probably weak, has shown himself by his proclamations about foreign influences, and the statement in a Russian paper, whether true or false, of his sending a mission to the Czar, to be an Afghan of a peculiarly tough fibre and whom we shall not be able to handle as we would wish. Addressing a great gathering of the leading men, who had gone to Kabul for the Fateha ceremonies, the Amir announced that he would guard jealously his country from foreign aggression, and would permit no violation of its boundaries. He would adopt no foreign customs; even the use of European medicines

would not be encouraged. Railways and the telegraph were not suited to the country, and would not be allowed to enter it; nor would English education or English trade be permitted. Authoritative advices from Peshawar confirm the news of a considerable measure of unrest in Kabul. The quarter from which trouble is expected is the mother of Mahomed Omar Khan, Bibi Halima. She was disappointed at Abdur Rahman's choice of a successor falling upon Sirdar Habibullah. She has already frequently found fault with Amir Habibullah for certain State acts in which, she maintains, according to the late Amir's Will, she ought to have been consulted. Shahzada Nasrulla Khan is also reported to be at variance with his elder brother. Although we consider ourselves strong enough in India to repel any probable invasion, still the prospects are not entirely re-assuring. "The clouds" may "lift," but they seem everywhere to be growing thicker and heavier. What a "shaking of the nations" is portended, few will venture to prophesy. We are unconsciously here reminded of those solemn and awful words:—"The stars falling from heaven, the light of the sun and moon quenched, and the sea and waves roaring—men's hearts failing them for fear of the things that are going to happen on the earth."

Of Russia there is no other record save that she is quietly driving her bargain about Manchooria with China, and extending her influence in Persia and her railways all over Asia. But that she has been thrown back by us into Germany's arms by our alliance with Japan there can be little doubt. Turkey continues on her Pan-Islamic Mission—which will, by-and-by, be found to tell on us even in India—but we have no space to detail it at present. Suffice it to say that she finds all her efforts at getting hold of Koweit (for Germany) balked by us. At the same time, she has her usual troubles with the Principalities, which may burst forth any time and destroy her. Very destructive earthquakes have occurred in Turkish Armenia.

Germany has made considerable headway since our last date in foreign parts, but is sorely embarrassed at home. First, however, we may mention that she got into a white heat of rage, affecting all classes alike, at the ill-considered and impudent taunt flung at the German army by Mr. Chamberlain which we noticed in our last. Indeed, relations became rather "strained" when Count Bulow had to calm down irate Deputies in the House, and even the Count's well-meant and judicious endeavours were ill-received by that fomentor of all trouble and war for the British Empire, the *Times*. King Edward has tried to throw oil on the troubled waters by deputing the Prince of Wales to Berlin to attend the Kaiser's Birth Anni-

versary ; but he, the Prince, is stated to have been received in cold silence by the people. It has been noticed that Germany has long been full of animosity against us, and our further thwarting her by the alliance with Japan, and in the matter of Koweit, will not help to make matters smoother. In China Germany has publicly declared that she has planted her foot in Shanghai and will maintain troops there. In East Africa an Imperial Edict abolishes slavery. In South Africa (German portion) the Boers are allowed to settle. Our mistakes everywhere are Germany's gain. At home there is financial embarrassment and industrial and commercial depression, with a new Customs' Bill protested against by the millions of Socialists. The number of unemployed now in Berlin is stated to be 80,000. The troubles with the Poles, too, are not yet quite over.

France has no further history during the quarter than acquiring Tajurah on the Somali Coast, opposite Aden, for her ally Russia ; and a revival of odious anti-English caricatures, a speech full of hatred of England in the Chamber, and M. Rostand, a famous writer, composing a bitter and biting pro-Boer ballad which has gone all over France.

Of other States, Austria has sought to ally herself with Russia, Italy is pursuing an independent course, Holland has made a fruitless effort to win over England to enter on Peace negotiations with the Boers, and Norway and Sweden have been celebrating their great "Nobel Festival" for the first time, an account of which, written by one who was there, will be found among our papers in this number. Portugal has driven off a band of French refugees of the Religious Orders with volleys of stones. Spain is reeling with Anarchist troubles, and is being placed under martial law. Work, too, is at a stand-still in Trieste, there being some 20,000 rioters on whom the troops had to fire. In fact, the Socialist troubles in Europe, including Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Spain, and also Belgium,—are more portentous than its military armaments and jealousies. Austria, Hungary and Germany all protest against the admission of the French refugee Religious Orders—England alone keeping an open asylum ! England will meet her reward, but it may be in a doubtful shape. The venerable Pope is having further troubles regarding the matter of Holy Scripture in relation to a questioning age, though we venture to think that if he had any knowledge of the "Word of God" as disclosed in the Hebrew *Cabbala* being a *Living and Organic Whole* and *One with the Universe of God and Explaining it*—let alone the Hope of Humanity and the Life of Life, the only Light of Life, being set forth by it in the Church in the person of the Son of God—

he would rest assured in calm and peaceful confidence as to the safety of the "Ark of God," though everyone on earth were struck by Disbelief.

Amid all these political and other troubles and commotions science is pursuing her beneficent and peaceful mission unchecked. Indeed, we have to record three of the most notable and prominent triumphs of this or any other age in the complete success of M. Santos Dumont's air-ship, of Marconi's wireless telegraphy, and of an American submarine boat which can remain below for any length of time.

ENGLAND, THE COLONIES, &c.—At home the Parliament has sat, and we have not more to record than the *sequelæ* of the Buller episode, the continued disruption of parties, the United Irish League and its doings, and a few other minor incidents. In regard to the Buller incident, as might have been expected, Mr. Brodrick stated in the Home that he did not propose to publish the heliograms from Buller to Sir George White. Sir E. Vincent, M.P., speaking at Exeter, said that the Government "had to justify the dismissal from Command of a General who was appointed to the 1st Army Corps only a few weeks previously; and to justify themselves on the charge that they paid more attention to an indiscretion of speech, a technical breach of King's regulations, than to the infinitely greater and more important question of military capacity." Lord Monkswell at a meeting at the Hotel Cecil "denounced General Buller's anonymous critics. 'Reformer' had made a most savage attack on General Buller, and when he asked him to come out and meet him in the open, he refused to give his name. [Cries of 'skunk,' 'forger' and 'Pigott.'] Could it possibly be because he knew that if he did, he would be found guilty of a far greater breach of discipline than that which he brought against General Buller."

It is not strange, therefore, that rumours are current that Lord Roberts will soon give place to the Duke of Connaught, and retire to that obscurity to which he has sent so many and from which he would himself never have emerged but for Sir Donald Stewart and Rudyard Kipling. It is also probable that Lord Kitchener will have been so worn out by his work in South Africa, that he will decline the Indian Command, which, it is stated, will be given to Sir William Nicholson. The forcible removal of Miss Hobhouse from her steamer to be sent back to England has been taken up by her uncle, the venerable Lord Hobhouse, whom we remember very well in India. But anything may be done now in South Africa, with a Chamberlain *cum* Salisbury Government at home allied to the *Times*, and a Milner in South Africa. Under the present

reigning madness or delusion England's honor has not only been trampled on outside, and her fair and respected name made to sink, but her high traditions obliterated in the mire, and an Englishman is no more an Englishman—he is a “man-in-the-street.” We may conclude this brief reference to the “War,” by noting that seven Protestant Bishops of Hungary and several hundreds of pastors have addressed a Petition to King Edward, praying His Majesty to “stop the war,” and that a peace manifesto signed by 5,245 Ministers has been issued by the Free Church of Scotland, urging the granting of autonomy to the Boers, with an amnesty for the rebels and compensation for those who have suffered losses. The same line is being taken by all the Labour and Liberal Associations in England. After all, Scotland is evidently coming round to the right view of things, and when that has come, the Chamberlain *cum* Salisbury unnatural combination will dissolve and retire never to be heard of again. The Dutch Premier has also been in England with a view to peace, and has stated that the King is earnestly desirous of peace, which is what we ourselves stated several months back.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—we heartily wish his name was not so long—is showing himself more and more capable of leading the Liberals and holding his own. And not only that, but of stinging and riling his hitherto supine “haw-haw” political antagonists. In some of his late speeches, by merely telling the bare truth—which is what England never hears from the present Ministry and their friends—he roused up replies from their entire body,—including even poor Lord George Hamilton, who cannot master the simplest elementary Indian question—and who even had to seek their unfailing ally the *Times* to help them. Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt have also spoken, and spoken well. But of all the speeches made, that made by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, while standing as a candidate for a vacancy, stands out in bold prominence. In scathing language he “cast scorn upon that wild rant and mad-cap alliance, the cult of force, which had its temple in the Music-hall and its high-priest somewhere in the Midland Counties. (Laughter and applause.) He was an Imperialist to the bottom of his soul.” He “abhorred that shoddy and bastard Imperialism so much in vogue to-day, the Imperialism of irritation, provocation and aggression, of clever tricks, and jibes, and flouts against neighbours, and of grabbing every corner of the earth whether we had use for it or not ourselves, lest anybody else should possess it. (Applause.)” He “repudiated the economic folly of expansion for the sake of trade. Trade followed the tariff,

not the flag. (Hear, hear.) The Empire needed a foreign policy which made for peace, and neither bragged at one time of our magnificent isolation, nor whined at another time after impossible alliances. (Applause.) It had been reserved for the Tory Party to-day to turn the empire into a word of Party meaning, and to claim a monopoly of interest in our colonies. It was to the Liberal Party in the main that the colonies owed their self-government, and it was by the Liberal Party mainly that it would be maintained. Its interests were surely safer in the hands of Liberals than those of men whose new and irritating diplomacy had dragged us from one graceful concession to another, and left us nothing but universal hatred, dwindling trade, and a depleted treasury. (Applause.) Lord Curzon in 1895 promised us an era of peace, happiness, and prosperity. But we slid from one concession to another. We had yielded in Venezuela, Armenia, Crete, Greece, Siam, and China, and Fashoda was only saved for us by Lord Rosebery. (Applause.) He "characterised the circumstances under which the last General Election was brought about as scandalous, and said the statement that every seat lost to Government was a seat gained by the Boers as being more responsible for the prolongation of the war than anything said by any member of the Opposition. Ministers had said that there was no alternative Government to the present one. If that were so we ought to forswear our Empire and go and dig in our cabbage gardens. The war had weakened our international position, had stopped domestic reform, and adjourned and embarrassed the ultimate settlement in South Africa." We can only trust that Sir Alexander Mackenzie will sit for Plymouth, not merely, because of his clear grasp of the situation, but to show that a retired Anglo-Indian who enters the Home Parliament need not necessarily be a spent force—a nobody with any weight in the councils of the realm. And here we remember that there is another well known Indian, Sir William Rattigan, who has lately got in for a Scotch constituency, and that he has yet to prove his mettle on this new field as he has done before on other fields, and not sink into the despised rôle of an "Indian Member." By latest accounts Lord Rosebery has finally seceded from the Liberals, and it is a pity he did not do it long before when Sir William Harcourt was virtually leading the party. Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain have since been drawing near each other, praising each other in public speeches, and proclaiming themselves inseparable friends! If only now the Irish party can keep their heads—now suffering under the direst provocations and almost direct incentives to rebellion—the old and effete Tory Party will have to go, a Liberal Government will come

into power, and the Rosebery *cum* Chamberlain combination have to wait outside without voice or influence ! And both England and Ireland will come by their own. And this brings us to the policy of the Chamberlain *cum* Salisbury—the present—Ministry to provoke Ireland to overt acts. We gave our readers to understand long ago that serious troubles were brewing in Ireland. For no other fault than being in existence so far as we can see, the United Irish League, embracing the vast body of native Irish, have been proclaimed and its meetings prohibited. For making some speeches at these, which might have been allowed to pass even in India, several Irish members of the House have been sentenced to gaol ! Our advice is for the Irish still to keep their heads, and the result will be favourable to their cause ; still the result of such governmental action has been that everywhere the Irish are determined not to welcome King Edward on his proposed visit. This, too, is a mistake, for King Edward is not Mr. Chamberlain and his crew. Let the Irish pay honor where it is due, for King Edward is also their King, and far above all parties and unworthy tricks ; and if they will only keep their heads and behave quietly and decently, they will soon see an end of their enemies. Among the hollow sentimental fallacies which rule the hour with some, we see it noted that Lord Cranborne has sought to impress on the Americans that England stood the friend of the United States at the beginning of the Spanish-American War in preventing the intervention of Europe. Lord Cranborne, however, did not say that England's action was purely selfish, and to save her own interests in America, for England is an American power equally with the United States. By preventing European intervention in America, England safeguards her own possessions in the event of a war against a European State. The United States may be willing to look at the case with their blind eye ; but ordinary folk and English statesmen (Lord Cranborne included) have the use of their visual faculties. To convert a purely selfish act into one of high—inexplicable—disinterestedness, however, shows that Lord C. is graduating in the school of his *pater* ; and it also marks the extreme gullibility of the unthinking classes and the lies that but too often rule the world. The industrial crisis at home that we stated in our last was coming on has begun to operate. British trade returns from January to November show a decline in imports of 13¼ millions and a decline in exports of 11½ millions this year as compared with last. At the same time Sir M. Hicks-Beach proposes to lay additional burdens of taxation. A possible increase in the tea duty will affect for weal or woe—we believe for weal—the tea industry in India and Ceylon. The *Times*' article on

the subject is unanswerable. Much of the tea that is produced is mere "rubbish;" and the Empire's needs cannot be made to give way to small class interests. We wonder that Lord Curzon, who supported the Indian Association, had not the penetration to see all this, and consequently came in for a well-deserved rebuke from even his own paper the *Times*. He was rather unceremoniously reminded of his "place!" Finally a great deal of opposition has been manifested by large Church bodies to Canon Gore being made the Bishop of Worcester. We can only think his selection must have been due to a philosophic sprig like Mr. A. Balfour, whose ideas of Christianity and the Church may run on similar lines with the wild and imaginative delusions of the author of *Lux Mundi*. A man who denies that "Jesus Christ (or Christian faith and doctrine) is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever" is unfit to be not only a Bishop, but an ordinary teacher of Christian truth. He does not understand the elements of the Bible, or the Christian faith. Canon Gore may be an excellent man, with high aspirations; but neither he, nor his admiring apologist in a late shallow monthly *Review*, is aware of the weakness of their respective characters or the depth of their profound ignorance. The idea of Canon Gore improving or developing the Christian faith is as good as his improving and developing the universe—or, let us say, to bring it to his comprehension, painting a rose or a lily. And he to be a "Bishop" to "feed My lambs and My sheep!"—to stand beside the Throne of "the First and the Last." (Our wish, we need not add, is that he may do so.)

The United States has induced Denmark to part with her West Indies for a million sterling. A conspiracy to overthrow Canadian rule and establish an independent republic in Yukon (!, has been discovered. Australia is ready with more men (her "unemployed!") for South Africa, if England will pay for them, and likewise a commission. Here is an Australian "soldier's" estimate of our officers:—

We detest and despise the British officer, with his eye-glass and his "haw-haw" style; for we have had ample demonstration of his total unfitness for warfare in such a country as South Africa. What with their sports and games and flitting with the Dutch gulls, they have afforded ample testimony of their incapacity.

The premiers of the several Australian Colonies have protested against not being included among the public guests at the coming coronation. New Zealand is meaner than any Australian Colony, and yet its premier has been specially invited!

INDIA—POLITICAL.—In the matter of the Queen's Memorial Lord Curzon seems to go further and further from public opinion. We need not repeat what we have said before—show the radical defects of his scheme—but in reference to a

paper or note he has issued in regard to it, the *Pioneer* writes:—

“Thus forty or fifty lakhs of rupees, mostly subscribed by Native Chiefs all over India, are to be spent on a building, foreign alike in conception and in execution, to be built on a site which, while it can be secured only by destroying one of the land-marks of Calcutta, will afford only a frail crust of four feet above the Hooghly slime to support this glory of future ages. The material is to be imported, the design is to be imported, the architect is to be imported; and India's Imperial Memorial to the Queen-Empress, who won the affection of her Indian subjects by her interest in things Indian, will not give the smallest scope to the Indian artist or constitute in any sense a monument of Oriental art. All this may follow logically from the original resolve to have a memorial of this kind in Calcutta; but so much the worse for the original resolve.”

For ourselves, we have carefully read Lord Curzon's note,—we are surprised the military authorities don't object to an erection which will completely command the Fort,—and can only say that the design as set forth will be—not a masterpiece of Art, which will be “a thing of Beauty and Joy for ever,” elevating, refining and educating those who will see it, but a hideous *nightmare in marble*. The idea of an oblong building flanked by towers, with a central dome rising a hundred and fifty feet high, is caricaturing architecture and Art to its utmost stretch, and is the most incongruous mixture. If it was to have been erected in Calcutta—Allahabad would be a far better site as central, with good foundations, and free from the deleterious effects of a Lower Bengal deltaic, etc., climate and dangers of volcanic shocks,—the site might have been better chosen, and the design somewhat more appropriate. To build such an erection on a mere crust, too, is risking the stability of the dome or central portion. It would be a sad day for the Viceroy to see his hundred and fifty feet high marble dome come toppling down on all his *curios* (including misplaced busts and old chain armour!) beneath. However, he is determined to be remembered in the future by a “Curzon's Folly.” And as he has rejected good and friendly advice and criticism, we shall waste no more time on him in connection with this Great Effort of his Genius, save to add that a Mr. Cameron, who knows every inch of the mineral resources of India, has come forward in the public press to say that there is the finest marble—pronounced by Mr. Holland to be “equal to the finest Carrara marble”—procurable in India in any quantity for the purposes of the Memorial. How is it, we may ask, that Lord Curzon did not consult Mr. Cameron before putting forth his unfounded statement in the note? Is it yet too late to do it, and keep some fifteen or

twenty lakhs in the country? As regards the Ochterlony Monument, it is quite possible to make it fit into the plan of the grounds and leave it undisturbed. And before we finish up this subject once for all, we may remark that enlightened native opinion, too, is here against the Viceroy. Here is what *New India* writes:—

“Whatever Lord Curzon writes or speaks has a stunning effect on the public mind, and one is simply amazed at the good fortune which has befallen India, in the person of a Viceroy who, young in age, is old in knowledge and experience, and who combines in himself the educationist, the politician, the economist, the artist, and the architect, the connoisseur both of manners and marbles, all rolled into one. The lengthy note on the Victoria Hall by the Viceroy, published last Friday,—though we are afraid, it will be read but by few people,—is, however, sure to be admired by all, for the prodigious amount of knowledge, artistic, architectural, and petrological, that is displayed in it the plans in which the Viceroy will himself have a hand, for nothing can, in His Excellency’s own estimate, be well done unless he lends his own superior knowledge and wisdom to its execution.”

And the *Indian Mirror* says:—

“In the Metropolis of British India, we have a sufficiency of subscriptions, but the great hitch is the Viceroy’s assertion of his own ideas about the site, plans, material for building, employment of labour and skill and so on.”

Lord Curzon will find that in this, as in so many other matters, *he has again missed his opportunity. But it is not yet too late.*

The following Proclamation has been issued by the Viceroy in regard to the Durbar at Delhi to celebrate the Emperor’s Coronation:—

“Whereas by His Royal Proclamation, bearing date the twenty-sixth day of June and the tenth day of December 1901, His Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India, has declared His Royal intention to celebrate the Solemnity of His Royal Coronation and that of his dearly beloved Consort the Queen upon the twenty-sixth day of June 1902, I now hereby publicly notify under this my hand and seal, as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, that it is my intention to hold at Delhi, on the first day of January, 1903, an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of celebrating in His Majesty’s Indian dominions this solemn and auspicious event. To this Durbar I propose to invite the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Heads of Administrations from all parts of His Majesty’s Indian dominions; the Princes, Chiefs, and Nobles of the Native States under His Majesty’s protection; and representatives, both European and Native, of all the Provinces of this great Empire. I also hereby notify that I shall forthwith issue such orders in Council as

may be suitable to the occasion and in conformity with the desire that will be felt by all classes of His Majesty's subjects to demonstrate their loyalty by appropriate public ceremonies and rejoicings. Dated at Calcutta this fourteenth day of February 1902."

The Durbar will last a week or ten days, and the functions will include chapters of the Star of India and the Indian Empire. There will be some 30,000 troops present, and the various camps will cover an enormous area of ground. The influx of visitors, too, from Europe, is expected to be very large. We trust that such due sanitary and other precautions will be taken that no plague or cholera break out while the Durbar is in progress.

We have now to take up Lord Curzon from where we left him last—making his "jungle journeys" in the wilds of North Burmah—a march it will be remembered we tried to dissuade him from—and he reached Mandalay and Rangoon without being pounced on by Mr. Stripes. He did nothing in Burmah save to reject every local demand and inflame public opinion, offering herein quite a contrast with those of his distinguished predecessors from Lord Dalhousie downwards who have visited the Province. We don't pretend to judge in the matters in dispute, but it was easy to have granted, even with justice, the few demands asked for. The papers in Burmah have been simply wild at him for having refused them an English Barrister Judge, a University, and the extension of the Railway to China. Even the Indian *Pioneer*—an unusually moderate paper—writes:—

"Lord Curzon has incensed local opinion because, while assuming at the outset the humble attitude of the anxious inquirer, he straightway proceeded to reject, with a confidence which savoured of contempt, even the recommendations upon which the Rangoon public were absolutely unanimous. . . . If ever there was a case in British India where intelligent public opinion for which the powers that he always profess so much respect, had made itself distinctly heard, this was one. For once Lord Curzon has misread the situation and missed his opportunity."

But further, and subsequent to his visit, the Viceroy does not seem to have given satisfaction in regard to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province. The same journal quoted above writes, that Lord Curzon's admirable reputation for the happy selection of high officials is not likely to be enhanced by the settlement arrived at in regard to the successor to Sir Frederick Fryer in Burma, and continues:—"The distinction of springing a complete surprise upon the public both in Burmah and India is the sole satisfaction, we conceive, His Excellency can have in connection with a transaction which is

inexplicable on any creditable theory, the more we consider it." And the article goes on to say that "even if Sir Frederick Fryer's administration had been characterised by the most conspicuous ability and the Burmah public were dissolved in tears at the prospect of his departure, it would have been a doubtful policy to extend a period of office already so long drawn out; but the critics who find anything of outstanding distinction in Sir Frederick's rule have hitherto been remarkably reticent. Apart from Mr. Donald Smeaton, there are half a dozen Civilians, any one of whom could have been expected to fill Sir Frederick Fryer's shoes without fear of comparative results. What has been done is apt to raise doubts as to whether, in this instance, considerations of fair play, the public interest and the opinion of the Province chiefly concerned have been given due weight." Although the paper even still again referred to Lord Curzon's appointments, and in more explicit terms, we do not think, regarding the men available, such as Cotton, Fraser and Hewitt, that a better selection than that of Mr. Donald Smeaton was possible. Mr. Barnes would have done well, and deserved a good lift, but he cannot unfortunately be spared. Perhaps he is reserved for Bengal, when Mr. Ibbetson may become the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Buckland get the Home portfolio.

In regard to Frontier Operations we can hardly add anything to the following from a leading organ of public opinion in India :—

"The recent operations in Waziristan may be designated "counter-raids" and not an "expedition:" the troops engaged may not be shown in the Army List as on field service: the Battalions that compose the force may not be brigaded: and the nominal command may be left with one Brigadier-General, while Major-General Egerton exercises "control." But all this does not alter the fact that more troops have been concerned in this Mahsud business than Sir William Lockhart had with him in the expedition into Waziristan in 1894. It was a Brigade then, it is a Column now which we hear of marching and countermarching in Mahsud land; but within the last two months the troops have fought over nearly every nullah in the enemy's country, have penetrated as far, if not further, than the force of 1894, and have done more damage than any previous expedition into Waziristan. The work has been arduous and the fighting hard. Since the end of November we have had over 100 killed and wounded amongst the troops, and there are over 1,000 sick in hospital. Nor is the cost likely to be inconsiderable; for we hear of great though unavoidable waste in connection with the transport. There is a line of 20 miles of camels between Daryakhan and Tank in addition to some 1,000 China mules from Peshawar and several thousand Government bullocks for transport trains. We do not

say that anybody in particular is to blame for all this ; if responsibility were to be traced anywhere, it would probably be to those who, in opposition to the minority in the Viceroy's Council in 1894, insisted on a policy of irritating meddlesomeness on the Waziri border ; but with things as they are up Jandola way, it is supremely ridiculous to applaud Lord Curzon for his firmness in restraining frontier officials from involving the Government in punitive operations."

In the Lyall case—an appeal being preferred to the Viceroy by Mr. Lyall, supported by fresh statements, including one by Mrs. Lyall, Lord Curzon also does not come out well. What was wanted from him was not to review the legal decision of the High Court, or to show that it was wrong, but to remit Mr. Lyall's sentence, which he might easily have done, and which he ought to have done. Lord Curzon, however, declined to exercise his right and left Mr. Lyall in gaol. The public sense was at once shown in subscriptions being started for Mr. Lyall's expenses, and that in the columns of the *Englishman* which has always been a thick-and-thin supporter of Lord Curzon. We can only presume that Lord Curzon had the dread of going against the High Court on the one side, and of offending native sentiment on the other. Whereas the truth is he would have offended nobody, and at the same time done an act of justice and mercy, and satisfied the sense of the European community. We can only wonder, considering all these repeated and numerous mistakes, who can be the Viceroy's advisers or, if he takes no other counsel than what he gets from himself, and whether he is not in the position of the client who has himself for his adviser. Mr. Pugh's contention, too, that the High Court cannot commit any one to any prison outside its own local limits, remains unanswered. For ourselves we firmly believe in Mr. Lyall's story, not only as confirmed by Mrs. Lyall, but as we know very well the kind of men who are recruited from Bilaspur, C. P. The European and Anglo-Indian Association had also sent in a memorial. This Association is the most influential and prominent European Association in India, and comprises most of the leading members of the legal and commercial communities, Lord Curzon thus disregarded the sense of the whole European community.

The Viceroy, however, "cares for none of these things" which tell so damagingly against him, and—having spent a sixth portion of last year in "sport," jungle journies included,—has also begun this year the same game by going off for a fortnight to Daijeeling to view Kunchinjunga and to wander about the ruins of Gaur "note-book and pencil in hand." What a happy man ! We could almost envy him, did we not

have enough and to spare of "jungles" and "ruins" of our own. However, we make here a fair offer putting aside our own convenience. If he put himself under our guidance for three weeks, not taking more than a couple of servants with him—or even a rifle, for we shall be in the thick of tigers and bears and even wolves—we undertake to show him within a radius of some odd hundred miles of Calcutta, the greatest natural wonder that is to be seen in India—which will be a revelation to him even after his Western travels—and that no second European eye has yet seen. On the way to and from it he will also see very remarkable historic "ruins" of the past (in a fair state of preservation). We believe our offer will make his mouth water and we shall not draw back from it, only the marches and stages shall be entirely under our control, and we shall not be hurried, nor have quotations or exercises in Latin to regale our private conversations with. Nor shall we have any "dances of Lamas dressed as yaks and stags, the agility of the performers being much applauded." (What a sight for a Viceroy to witness!) To revert;—Lord Curzon has also made a dreadful mistake in his Resolution about Assam tea-planters and Mr. Cotton, which practically sends the latter away in disgrace after a whole life of hard service. It is also not very encouraging to heads of local administrations to feel they are liable to public condemnation by the supreme authority for carrying out principles laid down by that authority. Lord Curzon, no doubt, has to thank Mr. Cotton for a deal of trouble, but—setting aside Mr. Cotton's not getting Burma, he might have been dismissed in a more handsome way. Finally in reviewing the portion of the canvas filled in by the Viceroy in the last quarter, we have to note his inconsiderate attempt to regulate the imposition of Home taxes in the matter of a possible increase in the tea duty, which brought down on him a real and severe snub from his own old "journalistic love" the *Times*. We need not repeat the words here, but may remark that we trust it will improve his caution and restrain his uninformed zeal in future. There is not, thus, one redeeming point or feature since we last wrote, in Lord Curzon's occupancy of the viceregal office. It is not pleasant for us to write thus, but we cannot obliterate facts. In what we have written, we have merely set forth the views of the public, and in its own words—and, indeed, left out and toned down much. We have ourselves suppressed two papers that would have made him feel very uncomfortable. The universal chorus of praise which welcomed his advent to the country only a short while back has turned slowly but surely all round and among all classes to as general a condemnation of his ungracious

ways, personal sensitiveness, love of *fads*, self-willedness, inability to please the public or carry it with him, and refusal to listen to good advice, which last we have been among the foremost to tender him and have been misunderstood. So far he has shown a genius for only trifles, rushing about from one end of India to the other enjoying himself, making public speeches (which count for nothing unless enunciating high policy), and despising both European and native public opinion. And we say it, that unless he subordinates his private and personal views, and attaches a strong curb or restraint on his idiosyncracies, natural or acquired, he may yet find that it will be best for him to escape the general odium by resignation. He has done some good work—though perhaps more harm—and he may yet do true and lasting work if he will only try to learn. It is vain for him to think that he knows and has mastered India, and her varied problems and pressing needs. Men double his age, with as great a penetration as his, and who know both the languages and peoples intimately, having spent a life-time in the country, confess themselves beaten. What we may ask, does he know of the inner life of the Bengalis, or the sturdier population of the North-West Provinces, or of the Punjabis, or Madrassis, or even of the Parsis, or Burmese? Absolutely nothing of their lives, aspirations and habits of thought. He does not seem to know even where their shoe pinches. Assuming knowledge is a sure way to fail at acquiring the truth. And all importation of Western methods and ideas, and passing them off as current in public speeches, will fail to affect the life or lives of the people in the slightest degree. He will have to live for a generation or two in India, as one with the people, to realise this fact. His bane has been gross flattery from a peculiar class of friends and writers. And of late we have even seen these going the extreme length of instilling into his mind the idea of his going Home to assume a supreme direction of affairs there. We have before said that he, or any man, is capable of doing anything if he has wisdom and self-restraint, and, we may add, faith. But it needs little to expose the falsity and hollowness of this latest phase of the flattery that is being offered as incense to his nostrils. Lord Curzon cannot, under present circumstances, hope for any place even in a Conservative Ministry, who sent him out and away from among themselves; much less the supreme or any leading direction of affairs. He has simply no political following which is essential. He is only known for his impulsiveness and anti-Russian flights of imagination. He has had no "training" for any great political chief's place, and he will have to wait long indeed, and be quite another man, before

he can hope to wear the blue ribbon of politics in England. In a reconstruction of parties, he may possibly come in for the Indian Secretaryship, assuming there is no better man for the place. That is our utmost forecast for him at present. But he has the power, if he can command the right will, to alter his destiny even if the great Shakespeare says the future is prefigured by the past. There are two more years remaining of his Indian Viceroyalty, and he may do much in them, "turning over a new leaf." Though bitter may be the humiliation, let him relinquish the Memorial "Folly"—the "nightmare in marble," as we have termed it—and allow it to be erected in Prince Alfred Park, in Allahabad, out of Indian marble, and according to a pattern that we shall approve of. Then let him proceed on the lines we lay down for him for the great good, progress, and contentment of India. In this connection we gladly observe that he proposes soon to visit the Nizam, and that our recommendation to give this first of Indian States a good start has not been made in vain. We shall have other recommendations to make from time to time, and one great one we have that will go to the root of half the troubles of India, and give it at once a spring of new life, for which we have no space in this number, but which we hope to give in our next.

The useless appointment of Director of Archaeology has been given away to a Mr. Marshall of Cambridge, who is supposed to know little or nothing of his subject. Now it is said that a proposal has been sent home for an Architect for the Government of India—another useless and purely ornamental post. And what the "mild sarcasm" in the following paragraph may be we leave Lord Curzon himself to discover :—

"The *Times of India* mentions a rumour that is current in England that the post of Minister of Education in India will be conferred on Mr. H. W. Orange, a gentleman in receipt of £150 yearly as Private Secretary to Sir George Kekewich of the Board of Education. It says that the gaiety of Cambridge would be eclipsed if Mr. Oscar Browning, the friend of quite nice Emperors, was hired to attempt to control anything save the movements of celebrities on the banks of the Cam."

Thus a number of great and useless but very expensive posts have been created by Lord Curzon. If we reckon a lakh of rupees as what each will cost per annum with their office establishments, travelling, etc., we have a capital represented (at 10 *p.c.*) of three hundred lakhs, or three *crores* of rupees. Is this simply just to India? And as if there was not enough of troubles in India without others being imported from outside, a number of "M. P." globe-trotters—whose visits should really be discouraged—have been giving forth their crude and most absurd and even mischievous views in the

press here. No doubt, papers are glad to get "copy," but what about what appears very like a direct incitement to another Mutiny, by comparing the barrack accommodation of European troops with that of native troops? (This reminds us of a cartoon in the *Hindi Punch* last year which also looked like a direct incentive to rebellion.) And yet one would almost think that Mr. Jesse Collings, who was one of these visitors, spoke as follows, with special reference to the assumed knowledge of the Viceroy :—

"Those who have spent the best years of their lives in India, I find are those who confess how little they know about the vast and complex problems connected with this wonderful country. There are men, however, members of Parliament and others, who think they have an all-sufficient perceptive wisdom (and do not by any means keep the opinion to themselves), who see no difficulties in the matter. After a few months' run through the country they write a book or an article on India, in which everything is made plain and every Indian problem is solved with boldness and confidence."

In regard to legislation, the Administrator-General's Bill has been passed amid considerable opposition from the public as rendering impossible the work of private executors. But, in any case, the public and official Government Annual Report of the Department will be a great and distinct gain. If only there were one or two other official Annual Reports in matters which intimately concern the public but are now kept dark, it would greatly mend some very unsatisfactory and even unsavoury quiet proceedings of a certain class of officers with Government authority.

Among other Home Office matters, a conference has sat to find out how best to popularise the use of Currency Notes, the members being Mr. Lindsay, of the Bank of Bengal, Mr. Hamilton, Commissioner of Paper Currency, Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Cox, Comptroller-General, Mr. Harrison, Accountant-General, N.-W. P., and Sir Edward Law. We could "popularise" and make universal the use of the Notes in a very short while, but have no "call" to make the plan a present to Government, when all we got for suggesting the original scheme of the Currency Notes (from Singapore 43 years or more ago, to the Right Hon'ble James Wilson, Finance Minister of India) at a time when, after the Mutiny, India was reeling under financial difficulties, was an offer of a subordinate place in the Finance Department! The plan we propose is as simple (and difficult) as Columbus' egg, but we withhold it. We have qualified ourselves over and over again for an ordinary "Civil List Pension" of at least Rs. 1,000 a month by eminent services freely rendered to the State (and also the public) in various lines, but the question still remains—*after forty years*—"will he ever get i [The

P. D. at our elbow says, "he will never get it so long as he does not give in to the jungle journies" of the Viceroy.] The Commission to enquire into the conduct of Government Presses has sat; but as we stated in our last, the scope of enquiry was too limited, and could therefore do little real good, while there was only one member and he a new-comer, who represented the public. If Government Presses were commercially organised would there be any need of giving away—some say subsidising—*lakhs* of rupees to private presses? Or if there was any common sense ruling in the matter of Stationary?

In regard to subordinate Governments, taking from the East, we have already noticed Burmah, its troubles and its appointments, all the direct result of Lord Curzon's visit, which we advised him against. Lord Curzon has yet to acquire the art of "keeping one's soul from troubles," and we won't let him into the secret. Assam has lost its Cotton under disagreeable circumstances, the result of the mistaken Resolution of the Viceroy which we have already referred to. Like the Viceroy himself, Mr. Cotton was a very hard-working and "honest" officer. He was also an able writer and an author. He deserved a better ending of his career, but we doubted it when his "friends" took Assam up and forced it on the Viceroy's consideration in articles of portentous length in a daily paper—a form of "great tribulation" for even a Lord Curzon. Bengal has, as usual, been happy and quiet under Sir John Woodburn, who, we believe, will be the only Lieutenant-Governor of a very peculiar Province, which unites in it "advanced" Irish-Bengalis and the most progressive British commercial and independent community in India, whose loss will be genuinely felt all round. Sir John has been lately going over several portions of his very extensive charge including Burdwan, and has everywhere met with the most genuine and cordial and gratifying reception. We cannot understand, however, what made him go through the experience of going underground into coal mines. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, too, Sir James LaTouche has inaugurated his period of office by going over most parts of his extensive and important charge, and has received the most gratifying testimony of the confidence and esteem of his forty millions of subjects both high and low. Whether at Benares, or Lucknow, or Agra, or Cawnpore, or in Rampur State, he was received as the known and tried kind friend of every body—even of the very poor. For ourselves we anticipate rest (and progress) for the United Provinces under his rule. We make room here for the first address he received, and his reply, as illustrating our above remarks:—

A deputation of the Oudh Taluqdars waited on the Lieutenant-Governor and presented the following address :—

"It was with sincere pleasure that we, the Taluqdars of Oudh, received the news of your appointment as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. We welcome you as an old and valued friend. Your appointment to your present exalted position is a fitting recognition of your eminent services in the past.

"Your Honour's intimate acquaintance with the agricultural conditions of the United Provinces, and the thorough knowledge you have of the people and of their past history, lead us confidently to hope that during your term of office our rights and privileges will be preserved, and that legitimate encouragement will be afforded to our hopes and aspiration.

"Administrative problems of great importance are certain to claim Your Honour's attention, and we are sure that with Your Honour's mature experience these problems will receive such careful consideration as their importance demands.

"Your generous sympathies with the people are well known and keenly appreciated, and now that you have been placed in a wider sphere of usefulness people will come to you without any hesitation, feeling sure that you will extend your fullest sympathy to them in their troubles and difficulties.

"To you, Sir, who have long been familiar with our habits, thoughts and feelings, we need not speak of our loyalty to the British Throne nor of our sincere gratefulness for the security of life and property and the general blessings of the British rule. We hope to be able to show in our conduct during your administration how deeply we appreciate these blessings."

The Lieutenant Governor in his reply said :—

"MAHARAJA AND TALUQDARS.—In your address you welcome me as an old friend, and it is a true description, for though in the early years of my official life I had not the good fortune to serve in Oudh, yet as Chief Secretary under successive Lieutenant-Governors, and as member of the Board of Revenue, I have visited every district in the Province, and have learned to share in your love for your beautiful land and its people.

"For yourselves, I am proud to count many of you as personal friends between whom and myself the tie of mutual confidence and good will already exists, and that tie will, I trust, be strengthened by the more intimate relations created by my appointment as Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

"Apart from our personal relations, you possess an Association adapted to give expression to your joint views on matters affecting the Province. I shall always listen with attention and respect to your views and wishes as represented by your Association.

"I do not anticipate that within the next few years it will be necessary to initiate new legislative measures in regard to Oudh. What was required has been done by the Government of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and on me devolves the humbler, but not

unimportant, duty of carrying out, with your co-operation, the measures already adopted, of removing the obstacles to growth; of promoting development, and of preparing the way for a further advance if necessary. In undertaking the task which lies before me, it is a great help to me to believe that I am acquainted with your character, your wishes, and your feelings; while your loyalty to the British Crown, and your self-respect which arises from the honourable traditions of your families, will make it all the easier for us to work together for the welfare of Oudh.

In the Punjab Sir Mackworth Young leaves about the 5th of March very much regretted by the whole Province. He is the last of the Lieutenant-Governors of what Punjab was, and not is—the result of Lord Curzon's intermeddling with its old frontiers, and creating the new Frontier Province. Like his more noted predecessors too, Sir Mackworth Young has nobly stood forward and not been ashamed to help the Missionary cause in the Province by speech and example. The open and manly profession of a true faith in Christ, in its rulers, made the Punjab what it became—the salvation of India. Even the heathen honor and respect and follow those who honor their God and serve Him truly in their lives. Sir Charles Rivaz takes up the appointment, and we have no doubt will acquit himself nobly in his post, though under other conditions. The Punjab must, however, remain the bulwark of India against invasion from the North-West. Mr. Fraser has continued working hard at his Central Provinces, and we trust will meet with due success, and notwithstanding Junius Junior's hard strictures, qualify himself for further promotion. And in regard to that trouble in a mineral matter to which we referred in previous issues, after due and full enquiry we learn that he was sinned against by his own *entourage*. Still, he has to bear the blame of his *entourage*. Very small men, as Secretaries and Under-Secretaries, can do an enormous amount of mischief, especially when "chumming" with Deputy Commissioners. We need not go further into this, as it has all been remedied, but it was only after a fearful deal of trouble and a private appeal lodged with the Viceroy that anything was done. Lord Curzon, who has many virtues notwithstanding his failings due to youth and inexperience, was prompt. Of Bombay there is little to record, the Governor dispensing his right royal charities in a way to even astonish the Parsees. In Madras the Wards' Bill has been passed after ineffectual protests and much opposition. Let us hope the Bill will remain a dead letter. At the same time we find we were wrong in saying that a Native Banker had sunk and lost some 20 *lakhs* on an estate without remedy. It seems he got enough for this loan—leave a Marwari alone

to do that ! Lord Amphill has declared against interpellations in Council of an objectionable nature. He described some questions as "logical pitfalls," intended rather to embarrass than to elicit information. Yet this is the only liberty yet possessed by independent and representative members, and we ought not to put it down with too rough a hand. Even the best native has to be "trained" to understand many things.

The following are the latest Madras revenue returns :—

				To the end of Dec.	
				1900-01.	1901-02.
				Lakhs.	Lakhs.
Land Revenue	...	...	...	207'06	200'35
Salt	...	...	...	141'33	142'81
Stamps	...	...	...	65'45	65'89
Excise	...	...	...	93'27	97'70
Provincial Rates	...	...	...	32'25	33'09
Customs	...	...	...	27'56	35'34
Assessed Taxes	...	...	...	29'06	19'55
Forest	...	...	...	16'49	19'27
Registration	...	...	...	11'19	11'60
Total				613'66	625'60

A great deal of attention is being drawn to the want of a good harbour at Madras. General Sir R. Sankey, writing to the *Times*, states that the Madras Harbour is in the same condition now as after the destructive cyclone of November 1882. He declares that nothing has been practically done to rectify the initial error of design, and dwells on the extreme importance of the work, whether regarded as a naval base or in a commercial aspect. Finally, there is a reported discovery of coal in Madras, and the local press strongly urges on the Government to test the possibilities of the "find." We believe Mr. Cameron has a good record in the matter of discovery of coal fields in India as well as other countries, and further, knows every inch of mineral ground in India, including Madras which he has declared is "literally paved with diamonds." Among other minerals, Mr. Cameron declares that there are four or five places in India—not Burmah—where there are rubies, and there is gold very near Allahabad. He has been now going over India, North and South, East and West, mostly at his own expense, for forty years off and on, and has seen strange sights in the jungles where he has consorted with tigers and bears, leading a "charmed life." In any case, we trust, he will be able to push to a close this matter of his discovery of coal in Madras.

We have no space in this number to give the details of a

plan for the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, which will do justice to the Province, to India, and to Government; will injure no one; and which can be carried out at a great immediate profit to Government.

(NOTE: We shall expect our "Civil List Pension" after that!)

INDIAN PRINCES, NATIVE STATES, ETC.—Beginning from the North, the Raja of the small Hill State of Mandi has, as stated, sanctioned an outlay of three lakhs of rupees for a tonga road from Mandi to Bajaura on the way to Kulu. We did not know that the Raja had such a sum in his coffers. Indeed, money is very scarce in his dominions, and we remember when we were up there, the wages of the State employés used to be paid in *salt*, of which there is a range in Mandi territory. Perhaps the road to Bajaura is also to be paid for by salt—if so, of course, there is money enough. The making of a good road may conduce to increased traffic passing down Simla way from Ladak and Turkistan.

Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur has taken up his position as Maharaja of Idar, a state in Mahi Kanta in Bombay, with an area of 1,900 square miles, with a population approaching 300,000, and a gross revenue of some six lakhs yearly. Sir Pertab's father, Takht Singh, came from the Ahmednagar branch of the Idar family, and there has always been a chance that the succession might revert to this branch. The Maharaja of Idar died last year, and his principal wife afterwards gave birth to a son who would have succeeded in natural course. But the boy died in November, and thus the *gadi* became vacant, for the late Maharaja had not exercised his right of adoption, trusting that the Maharani would bear a son-and-heir. The Government of India have now selected Sir Pertab as Maharaja of Idar, and we doubt not that he will make an excellent ruling Chief. He has all the qualities that should make him popular with his new subjects.

The Maharaja of Gwalior has opened a school for nobles' daughters in the hope of inducing the higher classes of his subjects to recognise the importance of education for the ladies of their families. This institution, under the charge of a European Lady Superintendent, was opened in the presence of several European and native ladies by the Maharani Sahiba in person, who delivered a speech in Mahratti setting forth the uses and advantages of education for ladies of high rank.

H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda has taken great interest in Sir Francis Lovell's mission to India and the East in connection with the London School of Tropical Medicine, and has given practical proof of his sympathy with the objects of the institution by contributing Rs. 1,200 as a donation to its funds. The Gaekwar had also recently deputed the Principal of the

Technical College in his State to visit the Paris Exhibition, and within three months of his return to submit a Report giving a concise account of the exposition, and a scheme of the arts and industries that could be conveniently started in Baroda. The Report has now been submitted, and it is under contemplation to start a number of factories which will use the raw materials available in plenty in the State, in the manufacture of many articles at present imported from Europe and America. The Report is an elaborate one, and advocates the revival of old handicrafts that have died out for want of encouragement and the starting of new ones. Detailed information is given regarding industries not requiring machinery, which might be started by persons of moderate means, as well as regarding industries for which the use of big machinery and the investment of a large capital are necessary.

Our readers will also remember a previous reference to a Memorial submitted to His Highness about marriage reform. Mr. Khinji Kayani has received the following acknowledgment from H. H. the Gaekwar :—

"Dear Sir,—I have been desired by His Highness the Maharaja Saib Gaekwar to thank you for your courteous letter. His Highness felt great pleasure in going through your Memorial which was at once sensible and patriotic. His Highness will take another opportunity to let you know in full what his own sentiments and views are on the subject matter of your present Memorial. His Highness is inclined to believe that the necessity of straightforward and fearless conduct on the part of our public-spirited citizens is not less imperative than the necessity for social legislation, emanating from the State. If people have the courage to hold fast to their convictions and abide by them, the occasion for coercive legislation would be minimised. Such good would result from the people's good understanding and liberal thoughts. However, legislation is sometimes needed in matters of Social Reform and you will hear His Highness' views of the subject of your Memorial on some future occasion. Thanking you again"—I am, etc

Manubhai N. Mehta, Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar.

From a lecture on Indian Education delivered at Baroda, by the indefatigable Mrs. Besant—at which the Maharaja was present—we learn that there are only two Colleges in all India, the M. A. O. College at Aligurh, and Mrs Besant's own Hindu College at Benares. That is of course from her point of view. As regards the Aligurh College, whatever may be its aims and ideals, when we saw it last, it had practically become a school for turning out Mahomedan Vakils, Tahsildars, etc. As regards Mrs. Besant's Benares College it is too early to say what it will ultimately accomplish, but we suspect it will turn out a school of Neo-Hindus who will upset the old Orthodox Faith for ever. Mrs. Besant may not be exactly a Christian Missionary, but she is doing the work of one, and probably the Christian spirit of

Dr. Pusey, from whom she first received her *impetus*, looks down on her approvingly. Let us hope they will meet together yet once again.

We come next to Hyderabad where everything is proceeding well under the new *régime*, and where the Viceroy himself will soon be to further cement matters, and probably to personally invite His Highness to the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi. To Colonel Barr is due the existing happy relations. At the Banquet at the Residency on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday, where His Highness was present, Col. Barr referred to the extension of his period of service and said :—

"I cannot but feel both proud and grateful for this mark of confidence from the Government I serve, but my pride and gratitude are enhanced by the conviction that the last years of my service in India will be marked by the progress and development of the great State of which His Highness the Nizam is the ruler. And for these happy results I look not to any efforts that I may be able to make, but to the determination of His Highness personally to direct the administration and to the loyal co-operation of all parties. During the past twenty months I have had many opportunities of judging of His Highness' capacity as a ruler. I have been honoured with his confidence, and I trust he will allow me to say that I have gained his friendship, and it is my belief that it is within His Highness' power and ability to carry this great work to a successful end. I can assure His Highness of His Excellency the Viceroy's sympathy with and approval of all the measures taken for the improvement of the administration of Hyderabad It is the prospect of a bright future for Hyderabad, for its ruler and its people, that encourages me to undertake with a light heart the duties that are before me during the next two years. I want to see the finances of the State established on a sure and certain basis; I wish to see the resources of Hyderabad—its mines, irrigation schemes, railways, and commercial industries—developed and bringing in a large profit to the Treasury of the State, and to all classes of the population, who are engaged in or affected by industrial activities."

To this His Highness replied :—

"Colonel Barr, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for the very kind manner in which my health has been proposed and received on this happy occasion, and I am much obliged to you, Colonel Barr, for the hopeful sympathy with which you have referred to the prospects of my State. I need hardly say that I owe a great duty to my people, and I always try my best to discharge it. If some success attends my endeavours I should share the credit with all my advisers. I take this opportunity to publicly acknowledge the kind assistance that Colonel Barr has always rendered me, both officially, as representative of His Excellency the Viceroy, and privately, as my sincere friend and well-wisher of my State. He has said he has my friendship and confidence and I trust he will allow me to add he has my esteem and gratitude as well. It is, therefore, with no small pleasure that I have received the welcome news that he will remain as Resident at my Court for two years more. I am very thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy

for having so kindly and readily lent me one of the best officers in India."

Finally, let us trust that that dismal source of irritation, confusion, and loss of time (as well as temper), the *halli sicca* rupee, will give way to a more reasonable coin, one uniform in size and value with the rupee, but with the effigy of His Highness—a plan similar to it being carried out in every State in India which possesses rights of coinage.

Travancore, the only Conservative Hindu State in India, besides Nepal in the extreme North, has published its Annual Report, and the revenue amounts to a *crore* of rupees per annum. The country is highly mineralised, and some efforts are being made to open it up. The Railway to Quilon will do much good to the country. The Maharaja is also trying to open up a harbour at Cape Comorin.

Finally, we have Mysore, and a great deal of it under the able and wise administration of Mr. Krishna Murti, whose appointment, it will be remembered, we congratulated the country upon. Under him Mysore will continue the "Model" State, (though Baroda is running it very hard), and the Maharaja will have easy times of it. From an address of the Dewan to the Representative Assembly, which reviewed the past year's administration, we learn that the revenues amounted to nearly two *crores*, that the amount of gold extracted from the mines was nearly two millions sterling, and that actually nine and a half *lakhs* were spent on Education. We also learn that besides gold, there is corundum in the State, but not paying. We add that we have heard a statement of rubies being found somewhere in, or near, the State. The London *Times* even specially compliments Mr. Krishna Murti for his work, among which, we may add, are settling the long-deferred matter of Mineral Leases, and sending a number of young men to America to be trained as Electrical Engineers for future employment at the Cauvery Falls.

The nuptial ceremonies of His Highness the Maharaja, who was married to a bride from the family of the Rana Sahib of Vana in Kathiawar, in June, 1900, takes place at the Mysore palace this month. Great preparations are also proceeding at His Highness' capital for his installation to the *Gadi* in June of this year. There is also a strong expectation, nay assurance, in Bangalore that His Excellency the Viceroy will pay a visit in August next, and that the installation of H. H. the Maharaja and the opening of the Cauvery Power Works at the Kolai Gold Field will take place about the same time.

As for the future administration of the State when the Maharaja has assumed the reins of Government, we understand that

the Maharaja will probably be assisted by an English Private Secretary, to be specially selected, for the appointment will be an exceedingly difficult one to fill. There will be a consultative Council, in place of the present executive Council. The latter would be out of place in a State ruled over by a Chief, whose responsibility for good government is so clearly recognised and emphasised in the "Instrument of Transfer"—a document which is practically the titledeed under which the Maharaja of Mysore holds his State. Colonel Roberston will doubtless recommend as few changes as possible, and his purpose will be merely to adjust the machinery to suit the main idea, namely, the personal responsibility of the Maharaja without, of course, swamping His Highness with work of too detailed and onerous a character.

THE BISHOPS, RELIGION, ETC.—

India loses Dr. Welldon, whose health compelled him to resign. He was, as Bishop in India, a man of magnificent possibilities. His utterances regarding the 'Imperial Mission' of the Church in conjunction with the Imperial position of the British Empire in the world was misunderstood, and every subsequent pronouncement, however correct, and even mild, was laid hold of by a small *clique* of narrow-minded people at home and in India and, as we view it, purposely and wilfully distorted—these people, be it remembered, not fit to clean the Bishop's shoes. Writing to the native pastor of the Brahmos, the Bishop says:—

"While I accept the full responsibility for my own words, it is ridiculous to suppose that when I make a speech of three-quarters of an hour or an hour in length and it is reported in some 20 or 30 lines of a newspaper, such a report can be any adequate or accurate representation of my mind. You will understand that I never speak upon religion or upon morals in the name of the Government; I speak in the name of Christ. I try to say what His religion suggests as being salutary to the Indian people. Whether it is right or wrong you and others can judge; but it is in my eyes no more than an honest contribution to the study of questions which you would be the first to recognise as intimately bearing upon the welfare of India."

A secular paper well says that, "to the Church of England and to Christianity generally in India, his retirement from this country is a loss. Dr. Welldon's career as Metropolitan has been very short, but during less than three years he exerted a strong influence within the Church in India, and also made it felt markedly outside."

Writing again to the same native pastor referred to above, the Bishop says:—

"My hope is that India will develop a native Christian Church, based, as it must be, upon eternal and immutable Christian truth, but characterised by the tone and method of Oriental life. There need be no wholesale acceptance of "medieval theology" nor any "identification with ecclesiastical government," but there will be, and there must be, the faith of Christ's Divine Personality, in His Incarnation, in His Resurrection, in His Atoning and Redeeming Love.

The one question which I should ask upon your letter is whether you mean by Christianity what the Church of Christ has always meant and means to-day. I cannot ignore the danger that persons like yourself may use the language of Christianity without accepting its significance. For although I do not understand by the Christianisation of India any special system of ecclesiastical government, or any such system as "Popular Christianity," I do mean that India should accept the cardinal truths which differentiate the religion of Jesus Christ from all other religions in the world.

Finally, let me assure you how entirely I sympathise with your letter when it expresses the wish that Christians in India and elsewhere should more truly reflect the spirit of their Divine Master. But for a comparison of religions it is necessary, I think, to compare not individuals so much as societies. I know Christians may, and do, fall far below the standard of Christ. Bad Christians may be, and are, morally inferior to many Hindus; but no one, I think, can doubt that a Christian Society possesses, and a Hindu Society does not possess, in itself certain distinctive elements of truth, liberty, progress and spirituality. With you and with all Indian reformers, I wish to co-operate in all such efforts as are made for the elevation of Indian Society; but it is my earnest prayer that these efforts may themselves prove the means of drawing the minds of Indian people to the Cross of Jesus Christ; for it is only there, as I believe, that they can ever find the realisation of their destiny and the satisfaction of their highest and holiest aspirations."

Let us add, that political differences may vanish, and people generally may be drawn one to another by the common lot, sufferings, and aspirations of humanity, but the distinctions and differences of religious beliefs and personal convictions will always remain so long as the world is what it is—different sections, occupying different planes of thought and enlightenment and seeing Christ from different points—some (*i. e.*, Christians) as the expression of a Personal God whom finite nature cannot see or know else, others, as merely the greatest of Prophets, others as possibly an Incarnation but certainly a Divine Teacher, and others again as a mere man, even if the best and wisest. In any case, the Bishop in his words, "there must be the faith of Christ's Divine Personality, in His Incarnation, in His Resurrection, in His Atoning and Redeeming Love," and "it is only at the Cross of Jesus Christ that the Indian people can ever find the realisation of their destiny and the satisfaction of their highest and holiest aspirations";—is explicit, even if a Hindu paper replies that, "the only tenet peculiar to Christianity is that there can be no salvation without Christ, and in this the Hindus do not believe." It is not our purpose here to hold forth the Divine claims of Christ

"the Word of God," but we may refer those who wish to know more to "the Word," especially the four gospels, to Plato (and Socrates his master), and to the 53rd Chapter of Isaiah. We need not to go further, however much may remain.

We cannot, however, conclude these observations without some reference to an article in a leading North Indian paper—the same that has made itself conspicuous by its attacks on Dr. Welldon—in which the writer, with "exquisite" taste, (if not with something worse) asserts that the Christian Clergy preach and proclaim what they don't believe in, that is, earn a dishonest living. From internal evidence the article appears to be the product of a crooked, warped, and sickly mind and written at Home, but it is a pity the paper inserts such very lying and offensive "rot," and in the prominent place of a "leading" article. We shall be inclined to bracket this journal in future with Mr. Khare (both of the same town!) for whom see our critical notices—both "with foreheads villainously low." The result was that the whole matter of Christian Bishops, Christian Missions, and the newspaper's want of capacity or judgment, or unfairness, was gone into at the Lucknow Diocesan Conference, where Bishop Clifford, "a man among men," hauled back the unworthy jibes and stuck to his colours and a Missionary exposed the crudities asserted by the paper regarding Missions. Several other late public pronouncements by very prominent and *official* speakers, such as the Hon'ble Mr. Ralieggh and Sir Mackworth Young must have also gravelled the paper we refer to not a little. The truth is, that for one blind who cannot see the sun, there are a million who do, and who rejoice in it.

Let us pass on;—the Bishop of Bombay has returned to India, and has officiated for the Metropolitan in Calcutta, stating that the Bishopric of the Central Provinces has already been provided with funds, and the Assam one must now go on. In the meantime Dr. Copleston, Bishop of Colombo, has been appointed to the vacant see. He assumes charge, we believe in May, rather a hot month. Dr. Copleston is one of the great authorities on Buddhism in the East, and is described as "a man of austere principle," a "fine judgment," "self-denying simplicity of life, scholarly application to linguistic and Oriental studies, of untiring industry, in journeyings oft," and we trust will prove a worthy successor of the bright and shining names who have gone before him in the diocese of whom some account will be found in a paper in this number by a "Layman." Dr. Copleston has been working in Ceylon for over a quarter of a century, and is universally loved and respected there. The Bishop of Madras has been keeping unusually quiet, while the *other* "Bishop"—we refer to the

Hon'ble Dr. Miller—has publicly stated before the University Commission that he won't have theology among the studies of the University. Dr. Miller is usually very sound but here we may ask him why? On the other hand, setting aside any reference to Christianity, we can give abundant reasons why theology "the queen of sciences"—should be included in any "University." Our Universities here besides are not teaching bodies—and never can be—but merely examining bodies. Dr. Hodges, Bishop of Travancore and Cochin, has been to the *fête* given to Mar Dionysius, the Syrian Bishop, and been remarking that he—the Mar—has the finest head he has ever met with. He also made a fine, brotherly, speech at the meeting which was much appreciated. Among other Church matters since our last, the Indian Presbyterian Alliance met at Allahabad, and conferred about a name for all the various bodies in India, in which we think the Rev. Dr. K. S. Macdonald's suggestion of "the United Church in India" was the best, but of course, (being the best) was not carried. The proposal to relax the standards of the Church, to meet the immature and unformed views of candidates for the Ministry, (who have no business to come forward as candidates) is a very ill-advised one. From a report of the Annual Meeting of the Telugu Baptist Mission we learn that an Industrial School is to be established at Ongole, and a Girls' High School at Nellore. These, with the College at Ongole and the Seminary at Ramapatam, will make the educational system quite complete. The Mission reports 60,000 communicant members, and the question of organising these numbers into self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches occupied a large share of the deliberations.

Sir Harnam Singh has given Rs. 50,000 to be managed by a Committee for scholarships for poor Indian Christian students in the Punjab. The rules and conditions are now being framed. Sir Harnam Singh is a noble Christian, and with Lady Harnam Singh, is doing excellent work for the infant Church in the Punjab. There are now tens of thousands of converts in the Punjab, where we remember in the early days only a few scattered members here and there. Sir Charles Elliott, in a letter to the *Times*, shows the increase of the Christian population in India, excepting Bombay and Burmah, during the last decade to be over half a million souls or about .30 per cent, namely, Punjab 33, North-West 75, Bengal 45, Assam 120, Central Provinces 100, Madras 20 per cent. Now, with the above exceptions, there are $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Christians in India, to which Madras contributes nearly two millions. Mrs. Besant, with that presumption born of ignorance, has not confined herself to mere Hinduism: she has actually ventured

to lecture in Madras, after her usual fashion, on Mahomedanism (!) Sikhism (!!) and even Jainism (!!!). She explained the circumstances under which polygamy was allowed and the conditions with which it was hedged in, leading eventually to the loftier institution of monogamy practised in fact and not only in name. She briefly referred to the sacred war, and stated how those learned in the faith were agreed that the texts in the Quran urging religious war against unbelievers were to be read with the proviso "when they attack Musalmans." She eloquently touched upon the beauties of the Faith of the Prophet, and urged the Mahomedans to raise Islam by making it better understood. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and Mrs. Besant would pull well together. Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar, the Pastor of the Brahmos, has been publicly proclaiming that it is the mission of the latter to "Hinduise Christianity," i.e., adapt it to Indian thought. Let us remind him that not only Indian thought but the thoughts of all the world, are to be adapted to Christ who is "the Wisdom of GOD and the Salvation of GOD to them who believe," and "in whom are hid all treasures of the Wisdom of GOD and Knowledge of GOD," for, "in Him dwelleth all the Fullness of the Godhead bodily." We were requested once when Keshub C. Sen was just sprouting, by Bishop Cotton to take him in hand both in the press and by public lectures, but (reluctantly) declined on the advice of late Rev. Dr. Kay—the friend of Newman, Pusey, Hurrell, and the others, and our most dear friend—; but now, after fully forty years, or more than a generation, we make the offer to lead Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar to Christ if he will accept our offer, but to do it in private, and for which purpose Mr. Mozoomdar must attach himself to us for a period. He will find those old Bishops, the loving Wilson and the saintly Cotton, as well as the learned Dr. Kay, speaking in us to him, besides one who has spent his life in the study and service of Christ in many lands over half the globe. Finally, to go outside India, the Jews everywhere are beginning to faintly perceive that their Messiah after all may have been the Lord Jesus, but for whom, as Michael Madhu Sudhan Datta, "the Bengal Milton," told us one day the Jews would not even have been known at the present day (except as an old and past obscure sect)—which is true in a double sense. The Pope, too, has been troubled about the inspiration and interpretation of the Bible, and has appointed a special Pontifical Commission for the consideration of questions connected with biblical studies. Cardinal Parocchi will be President, Cardinal Segna and Cardinal Vives, Assessors. Roman Catholic scholars all the world over are invited to state their views and difficulties. According to the *Cabbala*, which is known to few Christians and even Hebrews, the Word of

GOD is a *living organic whole*, as living as the Universe of GOD, which it exactly represents, and no one—no more than with the universe—can add to, or take away,—or explain away,—the least portion of it from the first Chapter of *Genesis* to the last Chapter of *Revelation*. There is even an awful doom pronounced on the unwary and presumptuous ; for if a being who is presumed to have life, fights or goes against life itself, he can only end in self-destruction, *i.e.*, have his part taken out of the “Book of Life”.—whoever he be—Pope, or Archbishop, or Editor, or any other fabricator or forger of fancies and fables or Denyer of the Truth.

EDUCATION.—There is little to be said on this head, as the Commission is now engaged in taking evidence at the principal centres. In the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the President, the Commission is sure to find out the truth of matters—or whereto testimony inclines. His speech at the last convocation showed everything that was to be done and is so excellent that we wish we had the space to insert it here. However, we can refer our readers to it. The matter of improving the Rajkumar Colleges has advanced a step further by a conference of several leading officials and most of the Principals. There are numerous things to be said here but we wait to see the outcome. There are several great faults in our present Viceroy—the first is he thinks he knows everything. The next is he forgets the old adage to “hasten slowly.” Another is he does not look before he leaps.

The abnormally high percentage of failures at the Calcutta University Examinations has seriously exercised the Chancellor and Syndicate of that institution, and a small Committee is considering the matter. The Rev. Father Lafont, Rector of the St. Xavier's College, in his Annual Report for 1901, remarks:—“We sent up 120 candidates for the First Arts Examination and passed 24 only. The B. A. ordeal proved still more disastrous: of 69 candidates only 6 passed.” We have always said that the University Examinations offered no true test, the mark for passing being too low. They should be raised at least double, or 75 per cent. A Committee on Industrial Education is also going all over India. A scheme of Commercial Education is being elaborated by Mr. Pedler in conjunction with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and it has Sir John Woodburn's support. The year's Report on Public Instruction in Bengal is very interesting and instructive, and the Lieutenant-Governor thanks Mr. Pedler for the close and enlightened interest he has given to every branch of the great department under his charge, and for the many valuable and some of them far-reaching improvements he has already introduced.

Finally, the *Englishman* wishes the scope of the University Commission should include the question of English as opposed to Vernacular Education, and the *Times of India* also seems to think that the Vernaculars are unduly repressed; while the Director of Instruction of Burmah writes "even in large towns there is a feeling of revolt among the more thoughtful against this invasion of Western ideas, and methods of life, and thought, and manners, that are undermining the simple, pleasing style, indigenous to the country and to the people." So we may add, it is all over India—a feeling of revolt.

LITERATURE, ART, SCIENCE, ETC.—The *Madras Mail* has won its case on appeal, but we have no space here to go into the legal aspects of the question. Both parties were right and both were wrong. The *Indian Daily News* as we wrote before gets out its own special telegrams, and by what looks like a trap laid for his financially weaker brethren, has laid several of them low by the heels. All revolved round the mysterious words "Emil Holah"! We need not say more, for the humiliation of the copyists has been complete. Another new paper, *United India*, has been started in Madras by the late able Editor of the *Madras Standard*, Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer, and also other magazines and papers whose name is legion. We are sorry to have to dismiss them in this curt fashion, but we cannot help it; "life is short." The *National Magazine* of Calcutta, however, gives some promise. An article in a late number on "A Dying River," referring to the Hooghly, shows the extreme likelihood of the great Ganges shifting its bed and flowing over Calcutta (and all its Lord Curzon's Victoria Memorials, "tablets," etc.), obliterating it, as it has done other great cities in Lower Bengal before. In regard to ourselves, we are in constant receipt of most gratifying letters from eminent parties in all parts of the world, but we have no space to print some of them as we should much wish. Even on the continent of Europe agencies for the *Calcutta Review* are sought for—we presume for the many valuable, and independent, features we present. A very leading and enlightened native nobleman of India also writes to us enquiring why "the Editors of native papers do not bring to the notice of the public the excellent articles which have been appearing in the *Calcutta Review* since it has been under your editorial management." The reason is simply that as we do not "exchange" with them, they do not see us, or think we disregard them. We do not disregard them, but we cannot afford to "exchange" with every publication all over India. And yet the better ones among them, such as the *Bengali*, the *Hindoo Patriot*, the *Mirror*, the *Lucknow Advocate*, the *Tribune*, and the *Bombay and Madras* leading

native papers can always see us near their hand, in Clubs and Libraries, if they wish to. If they don't, it is their loss, and their friends who do see us, should tell them.

The Nobel Prizes for the first year have been awarded, and an article on the "Festival," written on the spot, appears in this issue, and will be read with interest by all scholars and scientific men. We have also been furnished with the likenesses of the prize-winners—these true "lords of the age," and are only sorry we cannot reproduce them, as ours is not an illustrated review. We may, however, briefly sketch them by pen as they appear to us in their main features.

They are six of them, Professors Röntgen of Munich, Van't Hoff of Berlin, Dr. Behring of Halle, Sully Prudhomme, the French author, and Messrs. Dinant, a Swiss, and Passy, a Frenchman. Röntgen is awarded a prize of 150,000 *francs* for physics. His is a happy face (somewhat resembling Sir John Woodburn's, only younger), with eyes aglow as it were with his own wonderful "Rays." Van't Hoff, also awarded a similar amount for chemistry, has a cheerful but studious look. Both Van't Hoff and Röntgen have long heads. Dr. Behring who gets a similar amount for medicine, has a roundish head, with a very commanding air, square-chinned and determined. He looks as if he was ready to fight any one. Sully Prudhomme, who takes an equal amount for literature, has also a roundish head, with a gentle, thoughtful look about him. Dinant and Passy both share equally in the remaining prize of the same amount, for "Peace." Dinant and Passy have both patriarchal countenances, only the former adds having a long beard. Passy's head is almost round, whereas Dinant's is oval. Dinant looks like the father of the lot, and Passy the uncle, Prudhomme the mild dreamer, Behring the fighting boy, and Röntgen and Van't Hoff the happy and rather "larky" ones of the family. All, one may say, bear that distinguished look which has carried them to the front in the great World-Competition. Let us hope they will have as worthy successors year by year, and that we shall be here to draw their features.

We offered in our last to furnish an estimate of Kipling's place in literature. But we have been so wounded in our tenderest and inmost literary feelings by two similes of Lord Curzon's, that we have no heart to take up Kipling for the present. We refer to Lord Curzon saying in Burmah that his mind "is a vessel which I have emptied for the occasion," and in Calcutta (in Council!) "we all know how readily the bristles of the Englishman (? *which*) are apt to rise."

For the "Englishman" to be compared to a wild pig or boar is not very complimentary, while it is decidedly inelegant—in fact, it is very "coarse." Lord Curzon may use the figure for

himself, but we abjure it for ourselves, and every "Englishman" we know. (Even Kipling is not coarser!) As for the other figure of his mind being a vessel (with water we presume—or it may be a muddier liquid) pouring out and taking in water, we forget whether it is from some Latin poet, but we are sure a "clean slate" or "wiped-out table" would have sounded more in accordance with English usage. These are, or may be, mere trifles, but such often show "which way the wind blows." At all events, we thought Lord Curzon had been a "Fellow" of his *Oxford* College, and we should not have expected such inelegant, coarse or even laughter-raising figures from him. We trust he will take more care with his figures in future, and not hurt us in our tenderest literary feelings. (We can almost forgive Kipling now!)

Among the books of the period Skrine's *Life of W. W. Hunter* takes a first place. We, however, who knew Hunter from almost the time he landed, and also some things hid even from Hunter, find several inaccuracies. Mr. Skrine says Hunter placed the newspaper level on a higher plane, and Mr. Skrine knows nothing what he writes about. To say this in the face of a galaxy of the most brilliant and able, and even learned and solid writers, who contributed to the press,—men like Bishop Cotton, Dr. Duff, Dr. Kay, Townsend, Hutton, Meade, Forbes, Fenwick and Furell, the last of whom is still with us—not to mention others in Madras and Bombay, Allahabad and the Punjab—all of whom we knew personally (and often worked along with)—is to write utter "rot." It certainly does not improve Hunter's position, but rather invites comparison, which we forbear to inflict on our readers. Hunter is also stated not to have quite understood Lord Lawrence. No doubt, but Hunter had all his heavy debts paid off in one day by Lord Lawrence, and was also set forward on the way to promotion. There is no use in our going into particulars, nor taking up the numerous other "clips" in an otherwise very readable work. *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* (in the *Rulers of India* series) by Vincent A. Smith, M. R. A. S., (Clarendon Press) is a most scholarly and welcome volume, and we say this though it has "taken the wind out of our own sails," as we were ourselves collecting materials for an account of this old "Emperor of India." Mr. Vincent's work will find a place in most of the best libraries in the world, and we are sorry we have no more room at present to say anything further about the G. O. M. of Ancient India. (He will also be found mentioned in our article on *The Greeks in India* in this number.) Something is being said of Burmese literature, and it is stated that it is both extensive and important, and will compare favourably with any other vernacular literature of India. A truly complete Imperial

Library, which Lord Curzon has planned for mostly English and foreign works, should have samples of all the literature of India and Burmah, ancient and modern, and should be housed in a building like Government House, with four wings, and a centre block.

Dr. P. C. Roy, D. Sc., Professor of Chemistry at the Calcutta Presidency College, has in the press a comprehensive work on the history of chemistry in Ancient India. It will be a large work in two volumes. It is a completely original production, the subject it treats of having never before been dealt with by any Oriental scholar. Dr. Roy has for years been engaged in his researches, and has thoroughly mastered the details about the scientific knowledge of the Indo-Aryans, to be found in the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, the *Tantras*, and such Sanskrit medical works as *Charaka* and *Susruta*. The author is of opinion that the science of chemistry was cultivated in India so far back as the Vedic times, and that during the middle ages the Hindus knew more of chemistry than the Europeans of that age. We knew of a Hindu "fakir," (who became a Christian) who could transmute quicksilver into gold. The "chemistry of the early Hindus was, of course, *alchemy*. The book is illustrated with interesting drawings. Altogether it promises to command the attention of Orientalists and scientists alike.

With regard to the revision of the Indian *Gazetteer*, the late Sir William Hunter's official *magnum opus*, we understand that the new edition will consist of three more volumes than were originally issued. This is due to the decision of Government to deal more extensively with what may be termed Imperial matters as distinct from those which come under the names of towns, districts, provinces and States. At present there is only one thick volume, No. VI, which relates to India as a whole, and it was to this that Sir William Hunter devoted most of his personal attention. This volume will now be expanded into four, each article being written by a specialist either in India or England.

Sir John Woodburn presided at the last Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society. The number of members stands higher than ever, and the Society has now a balance of over a *lakh* and a half. The Society spent last year upwards of Rs. 10,004 in the furtherance of its *Bibliotheca Indica*, the published manuscripts being mainly Sanskrit, two of which are highly important, one being a treatise of the 18th century on the Vedanta Philosophy, and the other a codification of the 15th century, on the existing rules of Hindu law and ritual. Important progress was also made in the last year in the publication of Sir George King's costly but very valuable memoir on the Flora of the Malay Peninsula. Speaking

of the financial position of the Society, Sir John Woodburn said that the buildings of the Society were in good repair, and for the first time they were insured. "But though we stand better, there are many directions in which larger money-help from us is most necessary for the prosecution of researches, both scientific and literary. We have therefore seriously considered the question whether we might not, with advantage, dispose of our house and its site and transfer ourselves to a cheaper situation." But the decision on this matter must necessarily depend upon the offers that may be made to the Society for their present house. We trust the old house, where we have not sat by side with men like Dr. Wilson of Bombay, Sir Arthur Grote, and others, will not be sold. The Council of the Society at home are offering annual prizes for proficiency of knowledge of India in the various public schools.

Sir George Birdwood retires from the India Office. In a letter to a Bengali author Sir George writes:—"The people of India in ancient times were the most gloriously apparelled people on earth, and I hope that not only in the matter of costume, but in all else—in literature, philosophy, art and religion, in which they developed a distinct and national personality—they will continue to uphold the traditions of their forefathers against the assaults of the materialistic and degrading civilisation of the West. The deadly fight you have to make in India is to maintain the continuity of your own material, national, social and moral culture: and although you own literary vernaculars (Tamil, Maharati, Hindi, etc.) and Sanskrit, you should give the first attention to Greek and Latin literature and the next to English. You should not give the first place to English, but to Greek and Latin, and approach English through them, the Greek and Latin forming the natural bridge between Sanskrit and the modern languages of Europe."

We have a deal on Art and Archæology, but with the advent of Professor Marshall (of Cambridge) as Director-General of Archæology, we feel disposed to leave the field entirely to him (and Lord Curzon). We shall, however, consider! Swen Hedin, the intrepid Swedish explorer of Central Asia, has come and gone, and the only thing he said worth remembering is that Lord Curzon showed a "great deal of industry" in his work on Persia. That was poor praise if any. We believe there is no demand for this work at present, and that it fell particularly heavy on the market. As regards the hardships suffered by Swen Hedin, others have suffered as much, or even more, without parading them, or getting excited over them. And ordinary sailors in ship-

wrecks everywhere suffer more. With a guard of European Cossacks, and hundreds of animals, in a peaceful country, his adventures were of the tamest.

The Bengal Government have erected and equipped an Astronomical Observatory in connection with the Presidency College in Calcutta. It is also in contemplation to establish a Government Research Station in Behar in connection with the indigo industry, the Governments of India and Bengal subscribing half a lakh each.

On January 26th Mr. V. B. Kalkaria addressed an audience of medical men and others on the subject of the Gumpel salt cure, etc. Hon'ble Raja Peary Mohun was in the chair. The speaker made an appeal for a representation to Government on the subject. We have already stated Government can at least help with statistics, and there should be no objection to it. We shall be glad to learn and record if anything is done.

Dr. R. Walker, of Bangalore, telegraphs to the *Indian Medical Record* :—"I have cogent reasons for believing I have discovered a curative treatment for plague. For bubonic variety, uric acid, zinc, and calcium chloride. For pneumonic variety, lithia, piperazine, calcium chloride. For septic variety, two former combined. I am informing Bangalore, Madras, and Bombay newspapers. Please inform Calcutta papers. Your next issue fuller particulars shortly by post."

Dr. R. Walker also writes from Bangalore, dated 16th January 1902 :—"In case I am unable to have the test of the calcium chloride treatment for plague ready for posting to-morrow for your next issue, please insert a small paragraph stating that fifteen to twenty grains of calcium chloride (fused in sticks) is the initial treatment I recommend, repeated every two or three hours for the first twelve hours; then introduce zinc sulphate from one to four grains in pill every two or three hours, giving the lime at longer intervals, and if the case be a bubonic or septic one, after the first twenty-four hours add to the zinc pill uric acid grain $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$. In pneumonic cases, omit the uric acid and substitute lithia citras or piperazine (the former preferably in five to ten grain doses) every four hours. The fuller particulars of the treatment I hope to send you shortly. This much may be of use to some sufferers in Calcutta till I can give details."

A discovery for restoring consciousness by means of rhythmical traction of the tongue is announced from France. It has been very successful. For want of space we omit much matter relating to malarial fevers, commissions and mosquitoes, as well as the wonderful healing powers of chromopathy in a variety of ailments.

Echoing our observations regarding the Mineral Report for last year, the *Mining Journal* writes :—"So far as concerns the present report, the public could hardly have been less informed had it not appeared." (1) We have already referred to the mess made in the management of mineral matters, and how detrimentally it acts on India. We even said we could "put the whole matter straight in one day." But Lord Curzon fights shy of asking us to do it, though his apologists credit him with seeking light and knowledge wherever it can be found. We are afraid this, like many other such things about Lord Curzon, are mere figures of speech. Our only reason for referring to our offer, is for the success of mineral enterprise and the good of India. We have already referred to an alleged discovery of coal in Madras, but notwithstanding the usual practice in the Colonies, and Lord George Hamilton, presiding at a lecture on "The coal resources of India," said that it was Government's bounden duty to use surpluses which were likely to continue in developing India's industries, we believe nothing will be done (at the same time that such absolutely useless and ornamental and highly expensive posts as Archæologist, Architect, Education Teetotum, etc., etc., are at once made and saddled on to the country).

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, ETC.—We regret we have no space at present to refer to anything beyond the following few items :—While India has been deluged with Resolutions and Committees on all subjects and sundry, the opportunity of her taking a part in the great *British* exhibition in London has been lost—a very remarkable thing to happen under the eyes of a Viceroy who professed so much in his speeches at Home before he joined. Experiments in the Central Provinces to grow long-stapled Egyptian cotton, thrice as valuable as the native product, have, it is said, proved successful. It may be so, though we take leave to doubt it. The true area for growing the finest long-stapled *Orleans* cotton is in another province. Finally, Mr. F. T. V. Minchin, the proprietor of the Aska Sugar Works in Ganjam district and known there as the "Sugar King," has been publishing a good deal of his peculiar "diffusion process," by which he secures 20 *p. c.* more than by the roller mills. As he observes :—"If these figures are applied to the millions of acres of cane similarly wasted in all India, we should arrive at a figure that would go far to meet the interest of the public debt of India."

Mr. Minchin, further, is of opinion that the process may be applied equally to indigo. On some future occasion we may be able to set forth the process. Messrs. Parry & Co., of

Madras, too, have a Sugar Factory at Nellikuppam, and their Chemist, Mr. Royle, has published an interesting report on "Sugar Cane Analyses in Madras." Mr. Royle made the Analyses at the instance of the Board of Revenue, and Government are going to push the enquiries further. The great Sugar Company in North India, too, is going ahead. In fact, all over India, and even in Native States, commercial products as sugar, tea, indigo, etc., etc., are taking an upward bound. Before, however, we close this section we may refer to a public presentation of silver plate made to Mr. Minchin at Aska. Mr. Burkitt, I.C.S., presided, and addresses were read in several Oriental languages (besides English) by leading native gentry.

Mr. Minchin acknowledged the presentation in the following speech :—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—On rising to thank you for the kindly sentiments expressed in your Address to me on this the 74th anniversary of my birthday, allow me to express the great pleasure and satisfaction it affords me to meet you all and to assist in another work of public charity. On the last occasion we met to celebrate chiefly the benefactions of our worthy townsman, Mr. Gopal Rao Pantulu. My wife had the pleasure of associating herself with him on that occasion. She asked me to express her great satisfaction that she has the privilege to offer to-day the Parchama sheds. The other two excellent works, the cattle sheds and the poor sheds are, I observe, offered at the hands of their heirs by the late Behara Podano and the late Narasinga Naiko, who, though dead, speak to us through their good works. Your reference to the benefits my Sugar Works have been to the town and neighbourhood suggest to me to tell you that these Works have been established over sixty-one years, and that in this year I complete my Jubilee among you. How few here present had commenced their existence on my arrival among you. You will, I know, be pleased to hear that the machinery added to our Works only two months ago enables us to say that we now extract the whole sugar from the cane. I accept with heartfelt gratification the handsome souvenir you offer me and cordially appreciate the affection and deep regard it is desired thereby to evince. On my part, I ask your acceptance of these full length photos of my wife and myself as a souvenir of my long connection with Aska and you all. I warmly reciprocate your hope that this may not be the last of these happy gatherings on my birthday."

Mr. Minchin has shown what India can do. He has been one of the glorious pioneers, by no means the least, in the building up of an independent commercial India, the aim of all our statesmen. Our wish is that he may live long to enjoy the fruits of his labours and the good will of the rich and poor of his district.

MISCELLANEOUS.—At a Special General Meeting of the British Indian Association, amendments and rules were passed, among which may be noted "a healthy and satisfactory relationship between the landlord and tenant," and the written votes of

absent members to count when recommending a person for a seat in the India or Bengal Council. With reference to the first, may we enquire how it is to be accomplished? The following are among the most important gifts made by native donors for public purposes during the past year:—The late Sir Ahsanullah, about four lakhs and a half, in pursuance of previous promises; Sreemutty Peari Bibi, the widow of the late Babu Nandalal of Bally, Rs. 14,756 for the construction of a bathing ghât on the bank of the river Hooghly at Bally. Rs. 10,000, Babu Hiralal Mukherjee of Sridharpur, in the district of Burdwan, for the establishment of a Sanskrit *tol* in his own village.

Lavatory accommodation for even third class passengers are henceforth to be provided in all State Railways, and some private Railways. The reduction in the Telegraph rates to India is now an accomplished fact. Still, the press—and that means the public—has not been (very unwisely) sufficiently considered. The Imperial Anglo-Indian Association have increased from 200 to 1,800 members, and have struck in new lines with public annual dinners, industrial displays, scholarships and the like—all in the right direction. The speeches made at the Annual (the first) Dinner were all moderate, and excellent in tone and judgment, and a Training ship in connection with the British Navy is now assured. We observe that the name "Eurasian" was avoided by every speaker, and we have never been able to understand why, when the body object to it, it should still be applied to them. Philologically the term is wrong; so is it ethnographically (are Armenians, whose home is the Caucasus Europeans, "Eurasians," or Asiatics?—and so of other races); but socially it is certainly a word to be avoided—when even Goanese and Madras East Indians are entering the Civil Service and are barristers, doctors, etc.—as it would create an inferior *caste*, or even race! And any people are bound naturally to resist such degradation even if not British. Any particular section as in Madras, resting content with it, however "meek" it may be, is not to the point. It is not even natural. For no one can be expected to acquiesce in both racial and social degradation. It is only in India that such degradation is thought of or accepted—French, Dutch, German and others are all ignorant of it. "Anglo-Indian" may, and does, express too much, but it is nearer the truth than "Eurasian." "East Indian" was a word which was universally used for many years previous to this late appellation, and is probably better and less offensive than "Eurasian," which means an inferior race—a *Sudra caste*—due to a "bar sinister." As for their "special disabilities," we don't believe they have any except being legally ranked with Indian Natives. They do, we are aware,

enter into British Regiments, and we don't see what more they can want. We may be ignorant of the controversy. In any case, the Association have turned a new leaf, and we wish it every success. The Census figures for all India have been published, and we hope to find room for them on another occasion. The plague has again mounted up, and also the figures on Famine Relief—15,000 deaths from the former in a week, and the latter approaching half a million. The *Englishman* thinks:—"What India wants is railway communication with Europe. It is intolerable that a country like China, still in the hands of a semi-savage Government, and thousands of miles further away than India, should be able to communicate with Europe more easily, speedily, and cheaply, than a country which has been in British possession for over a hundred and fifty years."

The Agent of the Trans-Siberian Railway states that by May next a fortnightly service each way will be opened between Paris and Peking, whereby passengers will be taken in the luxurious carriages of the International Company the whole way for the sum of £52, food and everything included. At first, there will be two breaks in the journey, one at Lake Baikal, and one at Yingkon (Newchwang). For the convenience of passengers to and from Central and South China and Japan, Dalny and Port Arthur will be served by sections of the same train, and it is understood that the Manchoorian Railway will put on a line of fast connecting steamers between Dalny or Port Arthur and Shanghai, so that Shanghai will be within three weeks or so of London. The International Palace Hotels Company is proceeding with the construction of a grand modern hotel at Peking and another at Yingkou.

We have also received some private notes about the cost of the passage overland *via* Siberia which we hope to print in our next.

LATEST.—Canon Gore has been consecrated Bishop of Worcester—as it is "the Black Country," he will probably have some of his crude theories knocked out of him—indeed, the appointment of the most "high-flying" bishop to a colony of iron, coal, and other "low-grade" workers, seems to savour of appropriateness and poetical justice—or, "the irony of Fate."

A tremendous controversy is raging between Berlin, London and Washington regarding the attitude of the Powers before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. There is direct conflict between the German and British Embassies as to what actually occurred. We have already said that England's action was specially self-interested, and it is no wonder that other nations take offence at Lord Cranborne taking credit for it. We close our "miscellaneous" remarks by a note regarding the

late eminent journalist, artist, etc., Mr. Stillman. He persistently investigated the claims of "Spiritualism," and came to two main conclusions: First, that there are about us spiritual individualities; second, that the human being possesses spiritual senses, parallel with the physical, by which it sees and hears what the physical sense cannot see or hear, these spiritual senses appertaining to a spiritual body which survives the death of the physical. Stillman was American Consul at Rome in the 'sixties.

OBITUARY.—The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava; F. M. Sir Neville Chamberlain; Onslow Ford, the Sculptor; Sydney Cooper, the Painter; Aubrey de Vere, the Poet; and Rev. Dr. Davidson, Hebrew Scholar and Critic.


Sir Neville Chamberlain joined the Indian Army in 1837, and afterwards became a name to conjure with in the annals of Indian warfare, including the Mutiny. He was entrusted with the conduct of the difficult Umbeyla Campaign. The Emperor William showed a fine sense of respect for the great old hero when he sent a wreath for the funeral, and was represented by a Military Attaché. Among deaths in India, we may note those of the late Sir Ahsunoolah—whom we remember a very small boy,—his father we knew as a lad, and even his grandfather—a great public benefactor to his native town of Dacca; and of Syed Mahomed Latif, Khan Bahadur, District Judge in the Punjab, one of our contributors. He was created Khan Bahadur in recognition of services in 1892. He will be remembered for long for his histories, translations and compilations. He was very popular and always took great interest in Mahomedan education. We wish there were a few more like him among the Mahomedan body.

It is not to be supposed we have nothing to say of the greatest of the names above, that of Lord Dufferin. No eulogy of his varied career over three Continents can do him justice. In India alone he leaves a name among the greatest of her Viceroys. He annexed Burmah just in time to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. He allayed the passions which divided the Natives and Europeans into two hostile camps when he joined. He expanded the constitution as far as it was possible to go, and gave the Natives of India a share in the Councils of their country. He also originated the Imperial Service Troops. But for him the late Ameer of Afghanistan would not have been secured. Of many other matters we need not to speak. We who write thus had a bitter public controversy with him about the "Revolution" in Nepal, but our private relations originated it may be said in Canada and continued through the other Continents—were never disturbed, and we take this opportunity of acknowledg-

ing many acts of great personal kindness and favour. Able to the tips of his fingers, he had a pure heart without guile, and was humble and modest to the last degree. Only two anecdotes will show the manner of man he was. On an occasion at a Railway Station, he took a poor "Eurasian" child from the arms of its mother, and played with it, and we believe even kissed it. Again, when Mandalay had been taken, and the question arose whether more troops were required from India to enable us to say "What we have we'll hold," the Viceroy consulted his Chief Commissioner and his Commander-in-Chief. The latter (who was Lord Roberts), on evident reliance on the former, said he thought no more soldiers were required. Lord Dufferin came to no decision at the moment, but in the afternoon took a stroll with a certain Colonel, (Sir George White) who held high post. The two together ascended to the top of a commanding hill, and from the summit the Colonel indicated to the Viceroy the limits of British jurisdiction, "but," added he, "I think we shall have great difficulty in holding even that with our present forces." Again Lord Dufferin said nothing, but the same evening he had telegraphed to India for 10,000 additional men, every one of whom was eventually required, as proved by the course of subsequent events. And this he did without mentioning a word to either his Chief Commissioner or Commander-in-Chief. Such was his political foresight, and decision in any supreme hour, England will find it difficult to replace him. The funeral took place at his seat, Claudeboye, and the King-Emperor sent the Duke of Argyll to represent the Sovereign at the grave. Telegrams of sympathy were sent to Lady Dufferin by the King and Queen, and all the leading members of Royalty.

The Native Indian Press, (who are hardly aware of what he did for them and the country, and how his constant thoughts were for them) too, have mourned his loss. With Lady Dufferin's his name will never pass out of India's affections, remembrance, and gratitude. As for his latest misfortunes, the London *Times* observes that the ancient Greek would have said that the gods were jealous of so successful a life, and that before he died he was bound to taste of its bitterness.

Our concluding comment is, "we shall not see his like again."

 Special Articles to appear in our next number:—
The Pandora of Gæthe, by Sir William Rattigan, M.P.
A Lady's Travels round the Globe, continued.
The Modern Monkey Gospel, by Editor.
The Great Mahomedan State of the Punjab.
A Judicial Trial during the Mutiny, by C. S.
 And others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Selections from James Anthony Frowde's Works. Macmillan and Co.

THESE selections from the most prominent literary writer of the later Victorian era, will be welcome to many who admire good writing and deep thought. Mr. Allen, who edits it, has performed his work with great discretion, though there is not a word of introduction from him.

The Great Co-operation. By Colonel Dowden, R. E. (Retired). Lucknow, Methodist Publishing House. 1901.

THIS is a valuable work, more for thinkers and leaders than the ordinary rank and file. It is, however, very lucidly and plainly written, and may be studied with advantage by everyone who wishes to "get on," as well as lead a peaceful and happy life. It applies to all classes. The following table of contents will give an idea of the range and character of the work :—Co-operation. Its nature and uses. Absence of co-operation in the beginning. Work done single-handed. Work done by co-operation. The plan for co-operation. Character of men necessary for working it. The workers—Employers and Employed. Co-operation in the Home. Husband and Wife. The Children. Servants. Production and Distribution. The Industrial Class. The Commercial Class. The Professional Class. The Unoccupied Class. Government, its uses, and various forms of. Co-operation of Governments. Hindrances to co-operation. All things possible through co-operation with Christ.

The author in sending us the work, accompanied it with the following lines :—

I have ventured to send you a copy of a little book I have had printed, called "The Great Co-operation." It has been classed by the American Printer here, under the head of 'Sociology.' I have printed it, not with a view to profit, though the Printers are offering a few spare copies for sale. My object has been to make a brief survey of existing Social conditions, of a Home, and also an International character, viewed from the Christian standpoint, in the hope that it might be of service in the great cause of education and practical Christianity.

It appears to me also, it is only by some such class of cheap literature, that the spread of Anarchist and other impracticable ideas can be counteracted ; which is my apology for asking the favor of your acceptance of a copy for review.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXIV.

April 1902.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with state receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away —MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 228—APRIL 1902.

ART. I.—THE PANDORA OF GOETHE.

TO read a good poem, to hear a good piece of music, and, if possible, to speak a few sensible words, was the daily regimen which Goethe recommended to people in health.

The prescription is not a bad one, and it has the merit of combining instruction with pleasure. Few persons, if any, would be disposed to deny that time spent in reading a good poem, or in listening to a piece of good music, would be agreeably as well as profitably employed; while the exercise of trying to speak a few sensible words would be beneficial to most of us, although in the interest of our friends we may agree with the American writer (Thomas Wentworth Higginson) who says, that it is an exercise which should be very guardedly indulged in. We have not a superabundance of Doctor Johnsons or Goethes amongst us,

“whose words did gather thunder as they ran,”

and an exercise which might be peculiarly attractive when practised by superior persons of their kind, would probably, and perhaps justly, be pronounced foolish in the case of others who were not similarly gifted with the faculty of “that best accomplishment called chit-chat.”

But the first two portions of Goethe's prescription are certainly within the reach of most people, and it is with the object of pressing the importance of one particular source of supply for satisfactorily meeting the first requirement that I have ventured to write the following pages. To all who know German the works of Goethe himself will afford a rich repertory from which a daily selection could readily be made. But how comparatively few go to this mine of intellectual wealth for their daily mental refreshment. And more particularly how still fewer know anything of his smaller poems and of his unfinished pieces, where nevertheless the true poetic genius of Goethe is reflected in almost every line? Misunderstood and fiercely assailed in his own lifetime as a revolutionist against all established authority, who confounded vice

and virtue by depicting weak or dishonorable characters as interesting and amiable, much in the same way as Charles Kingsley was condemned for giving countenance (in his *Yeast*) to the worst tendencies of the day, and* for concealing loose morality in a dress of high sounding and philosophic phraseology; petted and idolised later as the German-Shakespeare whose advent an expectant Fatherland had impatiently awaited; a poet, financier, botanist, geologist and a student of natural philosophy, Göethe has been 'a name to conjure with'; while the manysidedness of the man still baffles the modern critic who sighs in vain to make a harmonious whole out of the impulsive and restless Don Juan of the Frankfurt and Strassburg periods, the self-denying purist of the early Weimar days advancing towards calmness and wisdom, the ardent lover of art and classical models after the Italian journey, and the cultured positivist of the matured man of action who has passed through the steps of emotional, speculative and critical life to realise at the last the conviction that salvation lies in hard work, and that in the dedication of the genius of poetry to high national aims the poet finds the noblest field for his activity. One feels in the presence of such an intellectual phenomenon that ordinary tests and standards can no more be applied to form a right judgment upon his creative genius than one would attempt, to quote the apt and striking language of Lord Roseberry, "to span a mountain with a tape."*

This is partly the reason why, while no name is more familiar than that of Göethe, and while all Germans are justly proud of one who was described by Wieland as "with all his peculiarities, one of the best, noblest, and most splendid creatures on God's earth," his works have never attained any such universal popularity as may be claimed, for instance, for the works of Shakespeare, Scott, or Tennyson. Göethe, in fact, is not in any sense a people's poet, and even as a national poet he would probably be reckoned if a *plébiscite* could be taken on the point, as coming after his friend and rival Schiller. The latter, as it has been well said, was always the German and mirrored the German soul. But Göethe rose beyond the narrow characteristics of a particular race. His genius soared aloft in its cosmic comprehensiveness into the region of the universal, having like Shakespeare the whole world for its stage. It was probably in this sense that Novalis describes Schiller as writing "for the few, and Göethe for the many" (*So schreibt Schiller für wenige, Göethe für viele*).† Göethe in a word is impersonal—we do not meet the man

* *Napoleon—The Last Phase*, by Lord Roseberry, p. 247.

† *Schriften*, von Ernst Heilborn. Erste Hälfte, Berlin, 1901, p. 290.

in his poems, while every page of Schiller is stamped with his personality. Perhaps the most perfect German prose that Goethe ever wrote was in the composition of that youthful drama, written while he was still in his teens, *Gotz von Berlichingen*. Here the language of the people is presented to us by a master hand, with every foreign element eliminated, and with a purity and simplicity of diction which will ever make this piece rank as one of the most perfect classics in the German language. It has been felicitously described by Weltrich* as *ein Werk, naturwüchsig glerch der Eiche germanischer Wälder*. In *Iphigenia* written when he was in the full bloom of his reputation, we have a work of a totally different character, the product of a genius in the maturity of strength and vigour, perfect in its execution and beautiful in all its parts—a veritable Greek marble on which the characters were chiselled with the matchless skill of a Praxiteles. But the subject possesses only an academic interest, and is far removed from the every-day sympathies of a modern reader. And so it may be said even of *Faust*. A brilliant mosaic of beautiful sittings, as a whole, it is bewildering in its chameleon like alternating tints and huts, and in the variety and manifold richness of life and incident which are brought before us. Marvellous as the work is as a literary production, it is more attractive to cultured leisure than as a poem affording a pleasant hour's reading to a casual reader. The same observation may be applied to many other of Goethe's writings. Indeed, Goethe himself, always clear in his judgment, was fully aware that his works were never destined to become widely popular. He confessed this to his Boswellian friend, Eckermann, and gave as his reason that they were not written for the masses but for individuals who had similar tastes and intellectual tendencies with his own. Goethe's tastes, however, were so multiform and his intellectual tendencies so varied, that the circle of individuals who are attracted by his writings is ever growing wider, not only in his own country, where he is still regarded as the creator of German literature and speech, but in foreign lands where his surpassing genius is now fully acknowledged, even though it may not be traced, as it is by a crowd of people in Germany, in the address of a letter written by his hand.

Nor is this universal admiration so unstintingly accorded by the literary world of to-day at all surprising. For no writer more than Goethe has so completely thrown himself into the external world, or has drawn his inspiration so faithfully from without. It was not the subjective world of ideas; but the objective world of action and feeling that furnished him with

* *Friedrich Schiller*, von Richard Weltrich, p. 150, Stuttgart, 1899.

his vivid conceptions of human life, of human passions, and of human interests, which offer a treasure-house of ceaseless attraction to every class of readers. What he had seen by day shaped itself into magnificent dreams at night. These phantoms "of all things near and all things far," whether sublime or fantastic, rational or mystic, reproduce themselves in his poetry with a vividness and fidelity which makes us feel that we are in a resuscitated world, in the presence of genuine gods, angels, devils, men and women, linking the dead past with its records of antiquity and the middle ages with the living present. Each character speaks and acts as befits its nature, from the Lord with his attendant angels to the garrulous and foolish Martha or the brawling and foul Frosch; and in the work as a whole we have what Taine aptly calls "an echo of universal nature, a vast chorus in which gods, men, past, present, all periods of history, all conditions of life, all orders of existence, agree without confusion." But if Goethe drew his inspiration from without, he trod the wine-press alone. His productions, as he tells us, were the children of solitude and Prometheus-like, he sat and moulded men after his own image

"a race that may be like unto myself, to suffer, weep;
to enjoy and to rejoice."

Cosmopolitan in his sympathies, boundless in his sphere of interests, he scorned to affect a style of his own, but showed his genius by the wonderful facility with which he could manipulate any given style to the immediate work on hand. No kind of metre was too difficult for his mastery, and there was no form of prose which did not receive from his pen a freshness and richness of expression, giving it a new charm, a new dignity, and a wider scope and field of development. Like other great poets he may be said to have "lisp'd in numbers," for poetry to him was very food and nourishment. Indeed life without poetry would have been to him devoid of true pleasure and aimless, or, as he himself makes Tasso express the notion:

"Life were life no more
Were I to cease to poetise, to feel.
The silkworm then should be forbid to spin,
When he already spins himself near death."

And yet it was one of the antinomies of the man's nature that made him say "Poetry is the urn wherein are contained for me the ashes of past sufferings." We are assured also that he deliberately rested his title to fame *not* on his poetical creations, in which he told Eckermann he took no pride, but on a theory of colors (*farben lehre*) in regard to which he boasted that he was the only person in his century who had discovered the truth, but which Cuvier pronounced to be

beneath the notice of the Institute, and which has long since been rejected as false. It was equally characteristic of Göethe that during the pillage of Weimar by the French his chief anxiety was lest his scientific manuscripts should be destroyed.

In this country most people know Göethe only by his *Faust*, and unquestionably a work which occupied the best years of his life, and was only completed in the eighty-first year of his age, may well claim to be the monumental production of his poetic genius, "the greatest work," as Grimm pronounced it with the pardonable, if excessive pride of a German, "of the greatest poet of all races and times,"

"of noble note,
Not unbecoming men who strove with gods."

We wonder in what category Grimm would have relegated Homer, Sophocles, Shakespeare, or Dante? Or what he would have thought of the great French critic* who considered that as compared with Byron's *Manfred*, the *Faust* of Göethe sinks into mediocrity and platitude? where there is discord within, and weakness without; where character is wanting, and which is German all over!

But leaving *Faust* to stand on a pinnacle by itself, there are threads of gold, linking gems of sparkling beauty and brilliancy, to be found in almost every page that Göethe wrote, and perhaps nowhere in greater profusion than in some of those unfinished poems like *Pandora*, which unhappily are unfamiliar to the majority of English readers. In Germany Duntzen, Scholl, Scherer, Wilamowitz, Möllendorff, Harnack and others have done full justice to these smaller but no less beautiful productions of the Genius of Poetry. But in England they do not appear to have received the attention they deserve. In the charming volume of translations of *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*† some atonement is made for this national neglect. But these translations like those of Fitzgerald from the Persian are perhaps better calculated to exhibit the rhythmical capabilities of our English speech than to present a faithful reflex of the actual poetry of the gifted author of the originals. It is moreover only a very small volume from which pieces like *Pandora*, exhibiting all the variety of style of which the genius of Göethe was capable, were perhaps mainly owing to the limitations of space, excluded.

And yet *Pandora*, unfinished though the piece is, claims our attention as a production upon which Göethe had lavished all the skill and beauty of his art. It is precisely one of those poems which might well be selected for perusal in compliance*

* H. A. Taine, *History of English Literature*, vol. iv, p. 42.

† By W. Edmonstone Aytoun and Theodore Martin.

with the advice for healthy persons quoted at the commencement of this paper. Nowhere else has Goethe portrayed a character with such intense and affectionate interest as in the case of the Epimetheus of this poem; and the ready abandonment of this hero to the impulses of the moment and to the seductive charms of female beauty, appear to be drawn from what critics are wont to designate as the "generalized experience" of the author himself. Pandora, in Goethe's conception, is the true embodiment of beauty, not merely of physical beauty in its harmony of color and form, but in a wider Grecian sense as embracing every ideal good, which in Spenser's verse,

"is heavenly borne, and cannot die
Being a parcel of the purest skie."

In form divine, with a face of surpassing loveliness, and a soul mirrored in purity, Pandora has been sent down from Olympus on set purpose with her casket of fatal gifts. But the drama opens when her visit to earth has already ended, and Epimetheus is left to bemoan his too short-lived period of happiness. He tells us how his elder and unsusceptible brother had rejected both Pandora and her casket, and how he himself yielding to her irresistible charms had at once elected to take her as his bride. He preferred the reality, personified by divine beauty, to the deceptive of seemingly brilliant gifts which Pandora's opened casket revealed to his eyes. But beauty of form and color is evanescent, as Spenser sings:

"For that same goodly hew of white and red
With which the cheeks are sprinkled shall decay,
And those sweet rosy leaves, so fairly spread
Upon the lips, shall fade and fall away."

And thus at the opening of the piece, Pandora so far as she personified material beauty has already vanished from her lover's sight, returning to her native planet the ethereal region from whence she came, with one of the two daughters, (*Elphora*) who had been the offspring of her union with *Epimetheus*, leaving the other (*Epimeleia*) with him to console him for her loss. It is the unhappy story of the love of this daughter for *Phileros*, a son of Prometheus, her father's brother, which supplies in the main the subject matter for this unfinished drama. *Phileros* has fallen in love with *Epimeleia*, who returns the affection, and the lovers meet unknown to *Epimetheus*, whose relation to *Epimeleia* is also unknown to *Phileros*. But the latter is observed by *Epimetheus* entering the garden gate as he is hastening to his love, and becoming the victim of a sudden and unjust suspicion, which is subsequently explained, that he has been betrayed

by Epimæleia who is anxiously awaiting his arrival inside the garden, Phileros loses all self-control and in his mad frenzy he attacks and wounds her in the neck. Her cries attract her father who rushes to her aid, and they also bring Prometheus upon the scene. Then follows a stern denunciation by Prometheus, who bids his son

*" hinaus mit dir ins Weite, fort,
Bereuen magst du oder dich bestrafen selbst ! "*

Phileros takes up the hint suggested in the last words, and in a passionate outburst declares his resolve to die.

*" Ich eile, yǎ scheiden, ich suche den Tod. •
Sie zog mir mein Leben ins ihre hinein ;
Ich habe nichts mehr, um lebendig zu sein."*

With these words he rushes off the stage, and Epimæleia now gives expression to her grief in some beautiful lines, in which she also explains the circumstances under which her lover's unjust suspicions arose. She was awaiting his arrival in the garden when a passing shepherd stumbles against the gate post, pushes it open and enters closely followed by the jealous lover, who immediately attacks this unknown and unjustly suspected intruder and then turns upon Epimæleia herself and wounds her in the neck as we have seen.

We now reach the tragic interest of the drama. Prometheus and his brother having been hitherto estranged from each other a common grief brings them again together and revives that fraternal affection which has never been eradicated from their hearts. Epimætheus now explains to the astonished Prometheus how he had yielded to the charms of Pandora, and how in the very moment of his supreme happiness Pandora had left him to return to her Olympian home, from which, however, he still hoped she would once again revisit him. He weeps, but his stern brother rebukes him. Tears, he says, may become the eyes of a young man, but they disfigure those of the aged. But, retorts Epimætheus, in words so full of musical rhythm that I must quote them in the original :

*Der Thänen Gabe, sie versüßet den grimmsten Schmerz ;
Sie flossen glücklich, Wenn's im Innern heilend schmilzt.*

At this juncture a fire is seen to be raging in a forest in the neighbourhood and Prometheus bids his brother to hasten to the rescue with his men. Epimætheus unwillingly consents, for since he lost Pandora he has nothing to interest him. But yet for the sake of others he agrees to help his brother. The flames are soon extinguished, and Prometheus congratulates those who have contributed to this result. Eos is now seen rising from the Ocean and Prometheus learns from her that

his son, has thrown himself into the sea. "What do I hear!" exclaims the distressed father, "Can it be that he has condemned himself and sought death in the bosom of the cold waves? Let me hasten to bring him back to life." But Eos tells him that his skill and efforts are not needed on this occasion, for it has been otherwise ordained by the immortal gods. They and they alone are to restore his son to life, and in fact they have already rescued him from the surging waves. A high festival must now celebrate the great event. Prometheus thus learns that he cannot resist the high decrees of heaven, and in the consciousness of his fruitless efforts to rival the superior gods he realises the limits of his own finite powers. The pride of the too ambitious mortal is thus checked, he is after all only a man and must submit to his destiny. Nevertheless he is a man whose existence depends on ceaseless activity. Festivals have no meaning for him: the true festival for a genuine man is found in *action*. He resents the light-hearted way in which Today is alone thought of, while the events of yesterday are for the most part forgotten. "Would," he says, "that men would reflect more upon the Past, and, moulding themselves with reference to it, would fit themselves better for the Present; that would be good for all of us, and that is what I desire." But the fast spreading rays of the rising sun, which make the last solitary dewdrop tremble as it still faintly bepearls her crown, remind Eos that she can no longer linger on earth, and she hastens away warning Prometheus as she goes that he must leave the guidance to the Eternal Good and Beautiful to the Gods, and accept the gifts they offer with submissive reverence.

Here the drama, as Goethe left it, terminates. But we know from the outlines of the plan he drew up for the continuation of the piece that it was in his contemplation to celebrate the return of Pandora, bringing in her train happiness and comfort. It would seem, therefore, that the piece was not intended to have a tragic ending. The main purpose was to signalise the triumph of harmony, when Pandora will be restored to Epimetheus, and Epimeleia to Phileros, and when the sorrow of Today will be lightened with the prospect of the happiness of Tomorrow; when, as foreshadowed in the Prometheus, "the Gods, Prometheus, his creatures, the world and heaven shall all feel themselves to be parts of a harmonious whole." Pandora, as we have seen, was Beauty symbolised, not in a mere sensual form, but in a higher artistic sense as the embodiment of every ideal Good; and in the longing of Epimetheus for Pandora's return the poet touches one of the tenderest chords of the purified human heart, the craving after the joy, the never ending bliss of ultimate Union with Perfection.

The poem, in short, is pervaded throughout by a lofty religious sentiment which never failed to appeal to Goethe's highest gifts. In its unfinished condition it may not be one of his productions which glitters most, but it possesses those real intrinsic merits which distinguish the genuine work that lives to posterity, and what we possess of it makes us all the more regret that it was never completed. We have besides in its deeply graven characters a speaking testimony to the living faith that was in Goethe despite the storm and stress which seem to be ever raging in his soul. To those, therefore, who seek for a pleasant hour's reading, one can confidently say

"Taste the draught of pure existence
Sparkling in this golden cup."

But *Pandora* has an interest for us also from another literary standpoint. It is here that Goethe has shown the remarkable facility with which he could employ the Trimetre of the Greek poets. He had but recently taken to this measure under the guidance of his learned friend, William von Humboldt, and dealing, as he was now with a classical subject, the opportunity was a favorable one for exhibiting his power of adapting it to modern use. No metre of ancient times was less familiar to German ears, and so completely foreign to the prosody of the Teutonic language, but in March 1799 Humboldt, who was at this time engaged in translating the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, sent Goethe a specimen translation of some scenes in Trimetre verse. This was the immediate incentive to Goethe's ever-active brain, and he first attempted the same form of verse in some parts of the Helen episode which he composed at this time. In his handling of this difficult metre it is noticeable, however, that Goethe avoids the use of alternating long and short feet in the first, third, and fifth places, such as the spondee (— —), the dactyl (—UU) and the anapaest (UU—), which was permitted to the Greek poets and was better suited to the natural cadency of the Greek language than to the rougher and less musical structure of the Teutonic speech. In this respect Goethe has been credited with a more correct appreciation of the requirements of his native tongue than either Schiller or Humboldt, both of whom largely employ anapaests in the first foot in the construction of their verse in order to give it a more passionate ring, just as the Greek poets made it the predominant foot in lively and joyous odes. In the *Pandora* it is true we meet with the occasional use of the anapaest, and, in one instance at least, twice in a single verse. But this is altogether exceptional, and, as a rule, Goethe's use of the trimetre is characterised by a more uniform use of the

iambus (U—), and by the exclusion of anapaests in the first and last places. Subsequently to the composition of *Pandora*, Goethe appears to have ceased to use the Trimetre for no less than seventeen years, that is to say, from the year 1808 to the year 1825. But from the latter year down to a short period before his death, the aged poet now busily engaged in completing the Helen acts and other portions of the second part of *Faust*—such as the monologue in the beginning of the IVth Act, and the speech of Erichtheus in the commencement of the classical Walpurgis Night, once more returns to the metre with which he began the Helen episode in 1800. But even the example of the last busy years of the greatest of German poets has failed to make the six feet iambic metre popular in the Fatherland, and it is only another proof of Goethe's many-sidedness and of his daring spirit that he should have selected this metre for the presentation to his countrymen of some of the most beautiful productions of his genius. In England also the attempt to introduce classic forms of quantitative verse, under the influence of Sir Phillip Sidney's authority, which, for a time, cast its spell over the Muse of Spenser, failed to make any permanent impression. For, in truth, the iambic Trimetre is as foreign to the genius of English prosody as it is to that of German.

Again the *Pandora* is interesting to us as a tribute which Goethe paid to the abiding influence which Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt, although eighteen years his junior, exercised over him. It was, as we have seen, under Humboldt's persuasive teaching that Goethe adopted the Trimetre for his classical pieces, and the warm friendship which bound these two great men, whose name shed an imperishable lustre upon German literature and scholarship of the nineteenth century, into a close intellectual communion with each other for a period of forty years—devoid of the faintest trace of jealousy and founded on mutual admiration and respect which the lapse of years only strengthened and confirmed—is a chapter in their lives alike honorable to both, which furnishes a rare example of literary friendship, while their correspondence is one of the most cherished legacies of the celebrated Weimar *Kreise*. In Humboldt Goethe found precisely the sort of man who not only supplied that profundity of knowledge of antiquity which Goethe himself, despite his manysidedness, lacked, but whose tastes, his intense love of learning, and particularly his determination to elevate the literature of his own country—for Humboldt, was, above all things, a German with a German's pride in the richness and immense capabilities of the national language were entirely in harmony with his own predilections, and appealed responsively to his inmost nature. Where the

two differed was, that while the mere dry-bones of antiquity had no attraction for Goethe, although his thirst for knowledge of art and science was unbounded, Humboldt was a *Savant* of the pure German type, an antiquarian and a philologist whose delight was to discover half-buried ruins and to construct comparative philological theories. Goethe's disposition was of the active imaginative stamp, in which the bright phantasy of the poet tinged everything which presented itself to his mind with cheerfulness and hopefulness : that of Humboldt was of the calm contemplative kind, harmonising with the faculty of the patient and laborious scholar, who viewed all things from a purely historical standpoint. Thus, while modern Rome to Humboldt was nothing more than an enormous field of buried ruins which spoke to him of departed greatness which he deplored in elegiac verse, to Goethe the ruined survivals of the once proud city of the Aventine did not oppress the mind with a sense of the vanity of earthly greatness, but appealed to him as a fresh incentive to nobler human effort. Widely apart, however, as each of these men impressed his own striking individuality upon his immediate surroundings and upon his works, no two men were better able to form a truer estimate of each other, and succeeded in doing so than these two constant friends. Each knew and appreciated the other's worth, and each derived valuable help from the advice and counsel of the other. But in strict truth there was no particular common interest which bound them together. The tie which chained their souls in unison was of a wider and more cosmopolitan character ; it aimed at the more perfect knowledge and truer conception of mankind as a whole, and was the sum or totality of their mutual interests. To extend this knowledge, to promote a clearer conception of the destiny of mankind, was the objective of their lives' labors,

Nach Ewigen eh'rnen
Grossen Gesetzen
• Müssen wir alle
Unsers Daseins
Kreise Vollenden.

These few lines embody the key note of Goethe's teaching. The nobleman is to be helpful and good ; he is to labor untiringly to promote Utility and Right, and herein he is distinguished from all other beings. In the consciousness of having produced the welfare of others he will reap the harvest of his own reward, in the assured happiness of himself and his own kin. Thorns and briars may obstruct his path, but he must go onward with no faltering step. Steadily and firmly he must pursue his way, and at last he will reach the haven of rest, for *uber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh*, when, as if awakening

from a dream, the clouds and mists will no longer obscure his vision, shadows will no longer encompass him, and he will find the path to a New Life open before him, in which the rapture and glory of the heavens will be his, and in which the longing of the oppressed soul striving for freedom for More Light* will at length be satisfied.

Higher still and higher
From the earth thou springest ;
Like a cloud of fire
The blue deep thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest.

W. H. RATTIGAN.

*[It is stated that Goethe's last words were " More Light, More Light " —a comment on his life and writings, including *Pandora*.—ED., C. R.]

ART. II.—THE BAHAWALPUR STATE.

[The following very valuable paper on the largest Mahommedan State in the Punjab is from the official archives and histories.—ED., C. R.]

THE Bahawalpur State lies to the south-west of the Punjab and to the north-east of Sindh. It is bounded on the north-west by the rivers Sutlej, Chenab and Indus. On the north-east of it lies the District of Ferozepur, and to the south the States of Bikaneer and Jessalmir. The gross area of the State is 15,918 square miles. It is one of the largest as well as most important States of the Punjab.

The Rulers of Bahawalpur belong to the Daudpotra Scion of the great Abbaside dynasty, receiving their tribal name from Daud Khan II., a lineal descendant of Sultan Ahmad II. Abbasi who, about the year 1317 A.D., with a number of attendants, marched into Sindh, entering India through Kech and Makran. Rai Dhaurang, the Ruler of Sindh, met these aliens in the field; but being defeated, had to purchase peace by giving up one-third of his territory. After the death of Sultan Ahmad II. his successors gradually assumed great power in Sindh and their possessions comprised a considerable portion of the country. The head of the tribe was then known by the title of Amir, and the seat of his power was Shikarpur, founded by Amir Bahadur Khan.

Early in the eighteenth century the Abbasi settlers were divided into two rival families: Daudpotras and Kalhoras (cousins to each other). The territory under their control being too small for their requirements, and the portion of the country to the north (the Bahawalpur State of to-day) being mostly in a waste condition, Amir Sadiq Mohammad Khan, the head of the Daudpotras, marched out to it to make it the field of his future activity.

Within a few years of his settling there he succeeded in subjugating the surrounding tribes by force of arms. In 1729 he founded the town of Allah Abad. In 1733 he wrested the fort of Derawar from Rawal Aghi Singh, the ruler of Jessalmir. His reign was remarkable for the several new towns which were founded by him. Amir Sadiq Mohammad Khan I. was therefore the first ruler of the Principality now known as the Bahawalpur State. He died in 1746, and was succeeded by his son Mohammad Bahawal Khan I.

During the brief rule of this chief several new towns were built, the principal among them being the town of Bahawalpur (which has given its name to the whole territory governed

by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur) which the Nawab built in 1748 and fixed it as the seat of his government. In 1749 Bahawal Khan I. died, and being without male issue, his younger brother, Mubarak Khan, took his seat. * Mubarak Khan succeeded in including the town of Pakpattan, Mailsi, Duniapur and Karor in his dominions. These were the days of the rapid rise of the Sikh power in the Punjab. Jhanda Singh and Hari Singh accordingly invaded Bahawalpur on that side of the Sutlej, but they were compelled to retire on terms of peace. Ahmad Shah Durrani also sent a force under Commandant Jehan Khan, but the latter failed to effect any conquest. Mubarak Khan died in 1772, leaving his seat to his nephew Bahawal Khan II.

In 1779 Bahawal Khan II. was granted by Shah Alam, Emperor of Delhi, the title of "Rukn-ud-Daula, Nasarat-i-Jang, Mukhlis-ud-Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk," which title the Nawabs of Bahawalpur still continue to hold. In spite of the internal feuds and external attacks from his enemies, the Nawab succeeded in consolidating his dominions. In 1808 the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, on a mission to Kabul, passed through the Bahawalpur State, and on his arrival at Bahawalpur, visits were interchanged between him and the Nawab. The Nawab was profuse in respect and hospitality shown to the honourable representative of the British Power, and the occasion is marked as the date of the commencement of the strong relations of friendship that exist between the British Government and the Bahawalpur State. The Rulers of the Bahawalpur State are rightly proud of the fact that fidelity to the British Crown has always been one of the most cherished principles of their government. Nawab Bahawal Khan II. died in 1809, and was succeeded by his son Sadiq Mohammad Khan II.

The brief rule of this Nawab, disturbed by constant dissensions, terminated by his death in 1825. His successor was his son Nawab Bahawal Khan III. so well renowned in the history of the time.

In 1833, when an invasion of Bahawalpur by Maharaja Ranjit Singh seemed imminent, the Nawab sent a representative of his to the Court of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of the day, and reminding His Excellency of the amicable relations established in 1808, requested that the British Government should dissuade the Maharaja from his intentions. The Governor-General acceded to the request of the Nawab and the Maharaja abandoned his scheme. From then the river was fixed as the boundary between the province of Punjab and the Bahawalpur State. To give permanency to the relations thus established, Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent, Ludhiana, and Lieutenant Mackeson came to Bahawal-

pur on 22nd July 1833, and an agreement was drawn up in which the independence of Bahawalpur was recognized and rules were fixed for the extension of trade between the State and the British territory. This Agreement was renewed in 1838. The Nawab rendered great assistance to the British in collecting provisions, boats, and camels for the troops marching through his territory on their way for the Kabul campaign. His zealous services were rewarded with the grant of Bhung and Kot Sabzal (which still form part of the State) in 1842. In 1848, on the breaking out of the Mooltan War against Dewan Mulraj, the Nawab offered all the resources of his State for assistance to the British Government. He sent out 9,000 well equipped men who joined the forces under Sir Herbert Edwardes and General Cortlandt, and the result of their combined action was the surrender of Mooltan and the defeat of Dewan Mulraj making Mooltan a British possession. These important services were fitly acknowledged by the Government by the grant to the Nawab of a life-pension of one lakh of rupees annually.

Nawab Bahawal Khan III. died in 1852, and in pursuance of his will his younger son Saadut Yar Khan assumed the Government with the title of Sadiq Mohammad Khan III.; but as his authority could not be supported by the established custom of succession, his elder brother, Nawab Fateh Khan, with the help of the grantees and the subjects, dispossessed him of power, and the British Government also seeing no reason for interference, in view of the absolute power enjoyed by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur, recognized Nawab Fateh Khan as the Chief. Saadut Yar Khan was taken to Lahore to reside there with his family, and the State granted him a monthly pension of Rs. 1,600 to descend from him to his successors who still continue to receive it.

At the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, Nawab Fateh Khan received a letter from Mr. Oliver, Superintendent of Sirsa, requesting to despatch all the troops forming the garrison of Bahawalpur to Bangla Fazilka so as to be available for service in case of need. In compliance with this and a subsequent letter from Sir John Lawrence, a force of 500 foot and 500 horse was sent to Sirsa. An additional force of 3,000 foot was also sent later on.

Nawab Fateh Khan died in 1858, and was succeeded by his son, Nawab Bahawal Khan IV. who, after an eventless rule of about eight years, died in 1866.

His son, Nawab Sadiq Mohammad Khan IV. was then only four years five months old, and in consequence of his minority, a British Agency was established for the administration of the State, which lasted from 1866 to 1879.

In 1879 Nawab Sadiq Mohammad Khan IV. was invested with the full powers of a ruling Chief. He rendered important services in the Kabul War of 1879, in recognition of which he was created G. C. S. I. on the 25th of January 1882. Nawab Sir Sadiq Mohammad Khan, after a very peaceful rule of about twenty years, died on the 14th of February 1899. His eldest son, Nawab Mohammad Bahawal Khan V., the present Nawab of Bahawalpur, was born on the 23rd of October 1883. The ceremony of his *Dastarbandi* took place on the 10th of March 1899, and he was recognised by the Government as the Chief of Bahawalpur.

His Highness had been sent to the Chief's College, Lahore, in March 1897, where his mental ability and application to work paved his way to such an easy success in studies, that he passed the Middle School Standard Examination in 1900 and the Entrance Examination in 1901.

His Highness was married on the 11th of July 1901 to the daughter of his great uncle Sahibzada Mohabat Khan.

His Highness is still a minor, and the Administration of the State is conducted by a Council under the supervision of Colonel L. J. H. Grey, C. S. I., Superintendent, nominated by the British Government. His Highness is being initiated in the work of administration and he takes a keen interest in it. He is one of the great Chiefs of India going to England to represent India at the Coronation of his Imperial Majesty King Edward VII.

The total revenue of the State amounts to about twenty-five lakhs of rupees, and is increasing with increase of commerce and settlement.

The following table shows the population of the State according to the census of 1901 :—

Details.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Persons ...	720,877	...	...
Males ...	...	395,684	...
Females ...	...	...	325,193
Hindus ...	114,670	63,459	51,211
Musalmans .	598,139	327,414	270,725
Sikhs ...	7,985	4,761	3,224
Christians ...	83	50	33

The State maintains nine hospitals for males and one for females. There are thirty-two Primary Schools and seven Anglo-

Vernacular Middle Schools and one High School and one Arts College.

Railway communication was established through the Western half of the State in 1880, and through the Eastern half in 1898. Both the Railway lines belong to the Government, the land area under them having been granted by the late Nawab free of charge.

The State maintains a Camel Transport for Imperial Service, which comprises a Baggage Corps and a Mounted Rifle Company with the strength as follows :—

	Men.	Camels.
Baggage Corps ...	407	1,068
Mounted Rifle Company ...	129	118

In addition to the above the State has the following forces :—

	Men.
Nizam Regiment ...	482
Orderly Troops ...	61
Band ...	42
Artillery ...	92 & 25 guns.
Paltan No. 3 ...	229
Police ...	581

The Nawab of Bahawalpur ranks third in order of precedence among the Punjab Chiefs and is entitled to a salute of 17 guns and to a return visit from the Viceroy of India.

As to the administration of affairs the Nawab is entirely independent in the exercise of sovereign rights over his subjects.

The following is the full name and title of His Highness the present Nawab :—

“HIS HIGHNESS NAWAB MOHAMMAD BAHAWAL KHAN V. ABBASI, RUKN-UD-DAULA, NASRAT-I-JANG, MUKHLIS-UD-DAULA, HAFIZ-UL-MULK, CHIEF OF BAHAWALPUR STATE.”

ART. III.—A LADY'S JOURNEY ROUND THE GLOBE.

(*Continued from January 1902, No. 227.*)

Part I.

CANADA, JAPAN AND CHINA.

[Liverpool to Montreal, across Canada to Vancouver, from Vancouver to Yokohama (Japan), and out again at Kobe. Thence to Hong-Kong, Canton, etc., and back to Hong-Kong. From Hong-Kong round the Malay Peninsula (calling at Singapore and Penang) to Ceylon. Thence through India—Home.]

WE left Liverpool in September 1900 for Montreal in one of the "Dominion" Line steamers, and stayed a few days at Toronto, going from there to Niagara to see the magnificent Falls again, and to Buffalo to view the fine buildings and grounds being prepared for the Pan-American Exhibition. Many of the buildings were nearly finished and very imposing they looked especially the Temple of Music, where President McKinley afterwards met his death. On a former visit to America the President had invited my father and myself to call upon him, and received us most kindly, shewing us over White House, and the prettiest views in the grounds, etc., and at parting he said, "I trust my countrymen have treated you well;" they certainly had, we spent a most delightful time in America.

From Toronto we went across the Canadian Pacific Railway in easy stages stopping off to rest when we felt inclined. As we had been over this line before, it was not necessary to rush about to see the principal places on the route. We stopped one day and night at Winnipeg, the "go ahead" town in the Prairies, and one or two places in the Rocky Mountains, and were delighted to see our old friends the glorious "Rockies" again. We noticed a very great improvement in the C. P. R. since we were there before, many of the trestle bridges having been replaced by more substantial ones, and the little lunch chalets in the mountains (where it is too steep to take the heavy dining car along with the train) were replaced by nice hotels with excellent accommodation. Formerly everything was plumped down on one's plate at once, fried eggs, mutton chops, beefsteak, etc., and we had to scramble through our food in a very short space of time, but now excellent meals are provided and there is not so much hurry.

We found Vancouver also much improved, it is really a charming place to live in, the climate is delightful, and many elegant houses are being built.

The steamer in which we crossed to Yokohama was "The Empress of Japan." We left Vancouver at midday, calling at the Island of Victoria about six o'clock, then something unforeseen occurred which might have ended very disastrously. We collided with another vessel, it happened about three o'clock in the morning, when most of the passengers were fast asleep. The terrible shock awoke me instantly, and I was rather alarmed when I heard the electric bells ringing, and people hurrying to and fro. I dressed myself quickly, as I thought something serious had happened, and my father came to my room and told me to take my rug, and go quickly up on deck as we might have to get into the boats. We found the sailors there ready to lower them, but in half an hour's time were told it would not be necessary and we might go back to our berths. One corner of the saloon was completely smashed in, and the library above, also one state room, but it was thought that that was the extent of the damage; however in the morning it was discovered the ship was damaged below waterline, and that it would be necessary to go back to Victoria. We were taking between six hundred and seven hundred Chinamen in the steerage over to Hong-Kong, and luckily they remained quiet; had they become panic-stricken and tried to come up among the passengers it might have ended very seriously. We stayed four days at Victoria while she was being repaired and then resumed our journey.

The "Empress" boats are elegant steamers, and the berths are wider and more comfortable than in any other ship I have sailed in, the food and waiting leave nothing to be desired, all the waiters are Chinese "Boys," they anticipate every want and look so nice and clean in their long white cotton gowns. The same with the room boys, they are always there when you want them, and never when you do not.

We amused ourselves sometimes looking down on the Chinese steerage deck, they shovel their food into their mouths with their chopsticks in a most ungraceful manner, it is usually rice, but they sometimes have some evil-smelling (green vegetable) with it; they are filthy people. Usually one or two corpses are carried over, as it is the ambition of every Chinaman to be buried in his own country. Some come on in a dying condition, but it is understood that if one of them dies on board ship he shall be embalmed and taken on, and not thrown overboard. They charge more for a corpse from the start, so they come and die on board to save expense; poor wretches. The lower class Chinaman is a most unhappy creature.

Unfortunately it was raining the morning we arrived at

Yokohama, so it was rather an unpleasant process getting from the steamer on to the steam launch which came up to take us ashore. However, we amused ourselves while waiting for our luggage to be examined at the Custom House by watching the little people running about in their straw rain coats and wooden clogs under Japanese sunshades made of oiled paper to keep out the wet. Then we stepped into our jinrickshaws and were trundled off along the Bund to our hotel. As soon as we were shewn to our rooms several Chinese and Japanese tailors made their appearance and tried to persuade me that I needed several new dresses, and fetched out parcels of patterns to shew me; but until I had repeatedly told them I had brought all that I should require from home with me, could not get rid of them, and even then they waylaid me on the landing several times during the day. We got into our rickshaws again after lunch, and were taken round the principal streets, but I was rather disappointed in Yokohama; it seemed quite as much European as Japanese, we met so many English people in the streets, and so many of the buildings are European, but this is only in the Treaty Ports, and I was assured that when we reached Tokyo and Kioto and other inland places we should see "real" Japan.

We had letters of introduction to some English residents at Yokohama, and next day they lunched with us, and afterwards we returned with them to their beautiful European house on the "Bluff," where the foreign residents reside. They drove us home again in a neat little English Victoria with a Japanese coachman on the box in blue and white livery and mushroom hat.

The next day we took the train to Kamukura where is situated the colossal bronze figure of the Dai-Butsu or Great Buddha. It sits serene and beautiful at the end of an avenue of trees. Its height is fifty feet, length of face eight feet five inches, and there are more than a hundred curls on the head, each of which is nine inches long. Inside is an altar and pictures as it is really a temple. We entered and climbed a steep staircase into the head. Before leaving the avenue we turned again and gazed for some moments at this magnificent work of art. The wonderfully calm expression certainly grows upon one, and we left the spot with regret.

About half a mile away is a bare looking building containing a wooden figure overlaid with gold of Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, thirty feet high, but it is quite dark within, and the priest lights some candles which he draws slowly upwards in front of the image, but it is not a pleasing figure.

Then we took rickshaws and rode along the seashore, down to Enoshima, a quaint little village of one street. We mounted

a hill to a Japanese inn whence a beautiful view is obtained. We sat on cushions in truly Japanese style, a small table before us and a *musume* or waiting maid kneeling opposite. Every now and then she nodded her head and smiled and said "very nice," which I suppose was the only English she knew. We returned to Yokohama late the same evening.

The next morning we started for a lovely trip up the mountains to Miyanoshita, catching a glimpse on the way of Fuji-jama, the sacred mountain, with its snow-covered top, rearing its silver head above the rest. After leaving the train we commenced the steep climb to Miyanoshita, two coolies to each of our rickshaws, one to push and the other to pull. The glorious tints of the maple and other trees and numerous waterfalls added beauty to the scene. At last the picturesque hotel, the "Fujiya," came in sight. Here one is waited upon entirely by a number of Japanese girls. All the work is performed by them, even to carrying the luggage, etc., no serving men being on the premises. They are very obliging and anxious to please, but enter the rooms at all times without waiting for permission to be accorded. The next morning the *mu-ume* brought my cup of tea, and when she returned for the empty cup became so interested in the way I was dressing and arranging my hair that she stood by the door staring with wide-open eyes, and although I told her to go two or three times she seemed so loath to do so that at last I allowed her to remain, and it seemed to give her very great satisfaction. The district round Miyanoshita is celebrated for the sulphur baths and hot springs, and is the favourite summer health resort of the aristocratic Japanese. We returned by a longer route through Hakoné in mountain chairs supported by strong bamboo poles borne on the shoulders of coolies.

The evening we arrived at Tokyo we were surprised to see the Imperial Hotel decorated with hundreds of Japanese lanterns and flags and we could hardly get to the entrance, through the numbers of coolies waiting with rickshaws. A Band was playing and we were told that 130 Japanese gentlemen were dining there. We soon found it was not an unusual occurrence. The Japs are extremely fond of entertaining their friends to big dinners in European style; ladies, however, are never present on these occasions.

The next evening we dined with Mr. and Mrs. Okazaki. The Japanese food seemed very peculiar to us at first, and I really could not bring myself to try the raw fish, but the Saké and sweets were very nice. Mr. Okazaki wore European dress, so very many of the men do so, as they find it more convenient, although when alone at home they usually change for the comfortable "Kimono." Mrs. Okazaki and her sister

were dressed in exquisitely embroidered and softly tinted silk gowns. The flowing garments suit the women to perfection, and they are wise enough to know that they would lose half their charm by adopting Parisian fashions, although some of the Court ladies have already done so. In country places the married women still shave off their eyebrows and blacken their teeth. This gives them a very ugly appearance, and at a little distance they appear to be toothless. This custom has nearly died out in the towns. The Japanese lady's coiffeur is a very important part of her toilet: one day I saw a lady sitting in her garden while her maid was dressing her jet black hair; she combed it through hundreds of times with combs of different sizes until not a hair was out of place; afterwards it was oiled, and the bandeaux were arranged in coils and puffs and stuck through with pins and ornaments. This usually takes an hour or two to accomplish, so she does not have it done every day, but in order to keep it in place must sleep with a little wooden pillow placed under her neck. One can tell whether a woman is married or single by the way the hair is arranged.

Japanese houses are always extremely clean, but rather bare looking. The only furniture being, perhaps, a small cabinet containing a few choice specimens of Satsuma, old ivories, lacquer boxes, or cloisonné vases or teapots, and in nearly every room is hung a scroll picture or *kekemono*; this is usually of great value, cushions to sit upon are brought in as required, and a small table is placed before each guest. The houses seem to be suited to summer rather than to winter, as they are often extremely draughty, the windows being made of rice paper instead of being fitted with glass, and as there are no fireplaces, little stoves or "*hibachis*" are placed beside each person, but as these are only useful for warming the hands the Japs wear one *Kimono* over another in winter or very thickly padded ones. Shoes are removed before entering as the mats must be kept perfectly clean, everyone sitting upon the floor.

They take great interest in their gardens, and although these are usually very diminutive they have tiny rivers, waterfalls, or lakes in them spanned by bridges, no garden being considered complete without water in some form or shape, usually containing gold fish; also they contrive to have mountains and rocks, and sometimes there will be stone lanterns, bronze storks and summer houses, and the miniature trees take years of patience to produce.

The Japanese are so polite they cannot refuse any one anything, and misunderstandings often occur with foreigners who do not understand their ways (in business matters

serious mistakes may ensue), and they are sometimes accused of telling lies and acting dishonestly when perhaps they do not mean to do so at all, for instance an Englishman asks a Japanese gentleman to meet him at a given place on a certain day, he says 'Oh! yes certainly,' but the Englishman finds he has not kept the appointment and it transpires after all that the Jap never intended to be there, he had other engagements, but his extreme politeness forbade him mentioning his own affairs. Of course one can see that great difficulties may arise from this sort of thing. Even the rickshaw coolies are so well mannered they bow low every time they are addressed or before speaking. There is a marked contrast in appearance between the upper and lower classes. The lower class women have thick, coarse features and are mostly fat, while the ladies are always refined looking and sometimes very pretty. There is also a marked contrast in the men.

As for the children they are perfectly sweet, I never tired of watching them at play in their bright colored Kimono, and with their quaintly shaven heads, they are just like little dolls and have such pretty manners calling out "obayo," good morning, and bowing if one smiles at them or "siyonara," good-bye. Babies are slung on the backs of their mothers or sisters in a fold of the Kimono and carried about all day in that manner. I felt very sorry for some of the little girls, some I saw were not more than five or six years old themselves, and it must rather take the zest from their games being obliged to carry a heavy baby constantly about, and certainly tends to make them round shouldered, but they are always smiling and happy looking. It is not always very comfortable for the baby either, its little head wags from side to side as its bearer runs about. The girls are perfect slaves to their brothers, waiting upon them and trying to please them in every way they can. Children of both sexes in the upper classes are early trained in the science of deportment, and in those little ceremonial acts so essential to the daily life of the well-bred Japanese.

The ultra-modern young man, he who habitually wears European clothing and scorns to sit on the floor or wear a Kimono, does not altogether appreciate the charming way admiring English writers speak of the people of Japan. "They think we are all pretty dolls," he says, "living in doll's houses, or butterflies flitting from flower to flower, enjoying the sunshine, living merely in the present. But we want to be taken *seriously*, we are *men*, we want Western improvements, more railways, telegraphs, telephones, and battle-ships, and all that the West can give us, we invite you to come and live in our midst, we want you to put your

money into our country and we are willing to give you a high rate of interest for it, we want to learn your ways, we want to progress." This is true, the Japanese want to "progress" and they *are* progressing. But how can Japan as a nation stand equally with ours when the women are being left so far behind? The Japanese woman is as sweet, docile and winning as ever, a mere child in her husband's presence, hardly venturing to utter a word and certainly never airing her opinions if she has any, she wears her Kimono as ever, and it would be a pity to alter her, she is so nice as she is. But the time must hang heavily on her hands, she does not go out with her father or husband to dinners or public entertainments except occasionally to the Theatre, or to a family gathering, and must never leave the house without a maid servant or chaperone, so, as she so seldom goes into society, it transpires that young people in Japan see very little of each other before marriage. But if her husband is unkind to her, she must always be pleasant to him, or he can divorce her, and she must go, leaving her children behind her. If she happens to have been sold for two or three years or more by her parents through poverty or other causes to the Yoshiwara she is a veritable slave indeed; here she must remain until the time has expired, smiling and dressing herself in gorgeous raiment, unless, indeed, one of the guests happens to fall in love with her, and is willing to pay the price to rescue her, then she is lucky indeed.

The Geisha's life is the most free of any, although she is sometimes sold to the master of a Tea House; in that case she must obey his orders; still, she is fêted and fussed and sought after, she is a public entertainer playing the samisen, singing and dancing, and although she has many temptations, she must not be confounded with the inmate of the Yoshiwara as she is often a simple and virtuous girl. One pretty little Geisha I saw, was not more than fifteen.

There is a permanent fair at Asakusa, a quarter in Tokyo, where flocks of natives crowd daily, pleasure and religion going hand in hand. They begin the day by going to pray in the huge painted temple. Before commencing his petitions the votary pulls a bell, with which to call the attention of the god, and claps his hands when his prayers are finished, before leaving he throws a small coin into the broad-barred money box. The way to the temple is lined on each side by stalls upon which toys, flowers, fruit and all kinds of gee-gaws are invitingly displayed. And there are Theatres, Booths, Tea Houses, Archery, Galleries and side shows, where one sees jugglers, wrestlers and exhibitions of wild beasts, in fact, there is something to attract one's attention every moment.

The masses can here have a day's enjoyment for a very small sum.

Tokyo is a very large city, and the new streets are wide and fine looking; it is the seat of Government. The Imperial Palace, wherein resides his Majesty the Mikado, is a handsome structure.

Sir Claude and Lady Macdonald had lately arrived at the British Embassy from Peking; Lady Macdonald told us some very interesting things about the siege, and what a terrible time they had at the legation waiting for the relief that was so long in coming. She is a very charming and handsome woman, and certainly did not look any the worse for her trying ordeal.

From Tokyo we went to Nikko, to see the Temples and Mausoleums of the Shogans. These Temples are the most beautiful and most gorgeous in Japan; there are many of them, and the carvings of wood or ivory represent birds, beasts, flowers, plants, gods and dragons and other symbols, and in the interiors the pillars are overlaid with gold or lacquer, and vases on the altars are made of gold and silver, and there are lovely paintings on the walls. Some of the Temples are Buddhist and other Shinto; we removed our shoes before entering. There are a great number of idols in the Temples and the door-ways are protected by dreadful looking devils. There was a dancing girl in one, she merely moved gracefully from side to side, or turned slowly round and round, waving a fan in one hand and holding some bells in the other. There are many stone lanterns within the gates leading to the Temples presented ages back by pious people as thank-offerings or for other reasons; inside some of them we noticed little pyramids of stones, placed there by the pilgrims as a penalty for small faults committed.

Nearly every summer the Mikado visits Nikko, when certain religious processions take place. No one but the Emperor crosses the red lacquered or sacred bridge over the Daigawa river, other people passing over the one built beside it.

Nikko is indeed a beautiful place with its grand mountain scenery, in my opinion, the most lovely in Japan. We went up to lake Chuzenji, nine miles higher up the mountains. It is delightful riding in the jinrikshaws, but sometimes I could not help feeling sorry for the coolies, they are extremely cheerful, but do not live very long, nevertheless, thousands get their living this way; in this instance we had three coolies to each rickshaw, but in some places the road was so steep, we alighted and walked. In returning from the lake, a sudden turn of the road brought us face to face with about a dozen huge monkeys; they ran across the path in great alarm and hid among the bushes.

The next day we rode six miles along the lovely avenue of Cryptomerias, the "Emperor's highway," from Nikko to Imaichi, where we took the train back to Tokyo, carrying with us the curios we had purchased, old ivories, monkeys carved from cherry wood and furs.

The country people seemed so interested in watching the trains, and at some little places we passed through, crowds of people were pressed up against the gates leading into the stations, and when they saw us looking through the windows pointed us out to one another, my hat seemed particularly to interest them as Japanese women do not wear them, and I doubt if some of them had ever seen one before. I waved my hand to them and they bowed and smiled with delight. We found two or three invitations from Japanese friends waiting for us on our return, but could not avail ourselves of them as we had arranged to go on to Nagoja the next morning to see the old castle, thence to Kioto.

During the feudal system Kioto was the capital of Japan, but the Mikado very rarely visits the old palaces now; it is very quaint and thoroughly Japanese; there are a great number of temples and tea houses, but the traveller usually spends most of his time in the numerous curio shops. In Kioto one can buy the most beautiful silks and embroideries in Japan, old bronzes, tapestries, satsumé cloisonné, old ivories and old lacquer, the difficulty is to know what *not* to buy. We visited the shops many times. Among other things I bought a white silk Kimono embroidered with chrysanthemums in yellows and heliotropes and Japanese houses, and toy kitchens, every tiny article inside these having been manufactured from the bamboo.

We were taken by a Japanese gentleman into several workshops, as I was very anxious to see how some of the beautiful works of art were made. The cloisonné is perhaps the most tedious ware of any to make, and terrible for the eyesight, many of the workmen becoming blind. After the design has been traced on the copper foundation, perhaps a teapot or vase, it is passed on to another department and the minute bits of gold or silver wire are fixed on for the reception of the enamel. Then it is filled and fired four or five times and finally reaches the hands of the polisher, where it obtains a brilliantly bright surface. We bought several choice specimens. -

We went round some of the porcelain works. All the Japanese vases we buy in this country are made and painted by hand. Some of the finest satsumé is done by very clever artists. Sometimes quite a small vase will take a month to paint, it is then placed in a black velvet case, lined with white satin, and sold for £3 or £4 or more. Afterwards we visited

a flannelette factory run on English lines, most of it is exported to China for clothes for the lower classes. Nearly all the hands are Japanese girls.

Some of the temples are handsome, but do not compare with those at Nikko. In one of them there are one thousand and one idols made of wood and covered with gold leaf. Each has about thirty heads and arms. In many of the temples we saw fierce looking red devils, with little bits of white paper stuck all over them; we enquired the reason of this, and were told that the ignorant people are very afraid of the devils, and in order to propitiate them write their prayers upon little slips of paper, chew them to a pulp and spit them out on to the figure. If the paper sticks the prayer will be answered.

Then there is the great Bell and a Buddha larger than the one at Kamakura, but is only made of wood and it is very ugly.

At the hotels pedlars selling curios, photos, etc., are really troublesome, they are most persistent, they come to your room day after day and beg and implore you to buy their goods. The best way is to keep the door locked (as otherwise they will enter without your permission), that is, if you have the good fortune to have a lock upon the door, but of course such things are unknown in Japanese houses the rooms merely being divided by moving screens. One evening I was resting a little before dinner after carefully securing the door, when presently I heard someone trying to get in. I remained perfectly quiet, but in a few minutes was surprised to see a man standing before me, he had entered from the landing through my father's room which joined mine and had a door communicating which unfortunately I had not thought of fastening. However, he was out again before he had time to undo his parcels. I am afraid I hurried that man! The room-boys enter without any ceremony in just the same way, there seem to be a great number of servants in the European hotels; one morning I went to my room after breakfast and there were no less than five men occupied in arranging it at the same time.

Our next stopping place was Osaka, sometimes called the "Venice of Japan" on account of the many canals traversing the main portion of the town. I fear it is rather a poor "Venice," but it is interesting to watch the numerous sampans and junks carrying passengers and goods from one part of the city to another, and the people looking out from the houses overhanging the water.

The shops and bazaars are wonderful, we could hardly walk down some of the narrow streets for the numerous banners, and signs flying above and around us and the piled-up stalls

of bright-coloured cheap clothing. We bought a few dolls and toys, but every time we stopped to look at anything crowds of people and children pressed round us staring open mouthed ; it was quite embarrassing. At last the crowd grew so large we could hardly walk and could not hear ourselves speak for the clatter of the clogs, so were glad to get into our rickshaws again, but they take such a kindly interest in one, it would be foolish to be annoyed. •

One of our Japanese friends had invited us to share a box with him at the theatre, the next evening after our arrival. Everyone sits on his heels here as elsewhere. The pit is a sloping floor divided into little square pens lined with matting, they are the queerest looking places. The people sit in parties of three or four. They drink saké and tea, and smoke (the pipes are so tiny they can only take three or four whiffs at a time) and take their lunch and babies. The people sit in the boxes the same as in the pit. Chairs had kindly been provided for our accommodation. Then there is a gallery above.

The play begins in the morning and lasts all day, the people coming and going as they please. In some of the theatres there is a revolving stage, so that while one scene is being acted another is being prepared at the back. And the "flower-walks" are quite different from anything we have in England, they are two long corridors connecting the stage with the back of the theatre upon which some of the actors come and go, others making their entrance in the usual manner.

The piece was a mediæval tragedy, the female parts being taken by boys. Some of the dresses were gorgeous. In the last act the hero, the son of the house, committed the Hari-kiri, or "happy despatch," after calling on all his relatives to be present. He thrust his sword into the abdomen, and made speeches and twisted and writhed about and became covered with blood, until it really grew painful for the spectators, it was so realistic. Still he spoke on and writhed and twisted again. After ten minutes of this we were greatly relieved when he gave a final squirm and died. The supers, robed in black, are certainly amusing to foreigners, although the Japanese do not appear to notice them at all, as they are supposed to be invisible. They remove things not wanted any longer, or arrange a fold of drapery, or hold a candle before the face of an actor making a speech.

In a box opposite to ours two Geisha girls amused us highly, they made part of their toilette while the piece was progressing, and every now and then they disappeared, re-appearing in a few minutes in other elegant costumes.

From Osaka we went to Nara. It resembles Nikko somewhat, we ascended a grove of Cryptomeria trees and avenues

of stone, lanterns grown over with green moss, to the brilliant red temple at the top, and again through other rows of lanterns to other brightly painted temples and pagodas. Hundreds of tame deer followed us and ate biscuits from our hand. We were sorry we could not make a longer stay in this beautiful spot, but only had one day to spare.

The high class natives in Kobe are very hospitable, I will try and describe the banquet given in our honour by our friend, Mr. Ozawa, before leaving the shores of Japan. During the afternoon I received some beautiful bouquets of flowers. At six o'clock Mr. Ozawa called at the Oriental Hotel for us with rickshaws, and we all three drove off together. Six waiting maids were kneeling just inside the hall, and they made the usual bow, touching the floor with their foreheads, others took care of our wraps. We were then taken into a little room to wait until all the guests had assembled, and where small cups of tea were brought to us. As soon as everyone had arrived, we were escorted to the top of the room, where the banquet was to be held, which was beautifully decorated with Japanese and English flags, and each guest was in turn, with ceremony, presented to us, and with much bowing each one handed up his card. Then we all sat down on the floor on cushions, the more important guests being placed near us, nearly all could speak a little English. There were no ladies present, several had been invited, Mr. Ozawa hoping to break through the usual custom, but they were either too shy to appear, or their husbands would not allow them to do so. Then the Geisha girls came in, there were about twenty of them, and their dresses were magnificent, richly brocaded gowns trailing along the ground, and flowers and jewelled pins in their hair. They kneeled before the guests and the waiting maids brought in, first large boxes of sweets and cakes, which the guests were to take home with them, and tiny cups of tea, then soup, about six different kinds of fish, more soup, birds, vegetables, raw fish, bamboo, spice balls, and great bowls of rice, and many cups of warm saké; then there were speeches and the Geishas sang and danced on a stage at the end of the room, and there were conjurors and fan dancers; still the musumés brought in more things to eat, giving their opinion as to which were the choicest delicacies and we grew quite clever with our chop-sticks. Then after much bowing we took our leave, our host escorting us to our hotel. Next morning our boxes of sweets and fruit were sent to us. And during the day four or five large cases arrived from some of the guests who were at the banquet, and a Japanese letter, a yard or two long, with the following translation also sent with it:—
“Dear Sir,—Although we have heard your honoured and well-

known name before, we never had the pleasure of your acquaintance. However, by the kindness of Mr. Kikumatsu Ozawa, we have had the pleasure of meeting you. We hope you will remember of us, and continue to take an interest for our (Japan) country's welfare, and to have better understanding between respective countries.

As a token of our respect towards you, we beg to send you herewith three boxes dolls and one flower basket which kindly present to your honoured daughter.

Hoping you will accept them.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

YAMAMATO,

Chairman of Chamber of Commerce.

NARA,

Chairman of Public Companies.

IWASAKI,

Editor of "Kobe Shinbun," &c., &c.

To ———, Esq.,

Member of the Japan Society, London."

The "dolls" were beautiful models of the Emperor and Empress, Maids of Honour and Prime Ministers.

An account appeared in the "Kobe Shinbun" afterwards, describing the banquet and giving the speeches, and I blushed considerably when I read the many charming and complimentary things said about myself.

The day following having arranged for our purchases of curios to be sent directly home by ship, together with an order for four tea services and one dinner service of hand-painted China, we left Kobe sailing in the "Empress of China" bound for Hong-Kong, after having had a very nice "send-off" from Mr. Ozawa, who took us to the steamer in his steam launch together with several of his friends, and we shall never forget the kindness of these gentlemen, who helped to make our visit to Japan so enjoyable. Our steamer passed through the beautiful inland sea, and stayed for a few hours at Nagasaki. We had plenty of time to have a rickshaw ride through the town and see the few sights to be seen there.

Strangely enough all the time we were in Japan, we did not notice one earthquake shock, although I believe they are supposed to take place once or twice a week. We were greatly relieved, as earthquakes are not pleasant things. We were a year or two before in a terrible one in Mexico, when houses fell and numbers of people were killed and injured, and we felt for many seconds as if we were at sea, the lamps and shutters swaying backwards and forwards until we ran

into the street where the natives were all on their knees praying as hard as they could.

Christmas Day on the "Empress of China" was quite an event, the saloon was most tastefully decorated with evergreens and flags, and we had a regular Christmas dinner, Boar's Head, Turkey and Plum Pudding, etc., and games and crackers afterwards. Fortunately the weather was perfect, so everyone was able to enjoy the good fare provided.

Hong-Kong is a perfectly charming place at this time of year, although in the summer the damp heat is very unhealthy. As you approach the shore the Island presents a very pretty sight, and looks like a great mountain rising out of the sea, the houses ascending tier upon tier until the summit is reached. There is a large hotel on the "Peak" where visitors usually stay in summer, but in winter it is considered too cold, and towards evening in the winter it is covered with mist. Many of the Europeans live on the Peak or "top-side," in summer, and below or "down side," in winter, but a few prefer always living on the Peak, and one day we spent the afternoon with some friends who had lived there for years, and very pleasant it was until the evening mists came on, when it became necessary to put on warm wraps before leaving the house. A steam tramway runs up and down about every quarter of an hour, and chair coolies meet you at the top. We stayed at the Hong-Kong Hotel as it was winter. It is only a few yards from the Landing-Stage, and is a large rambling place. The bed rooms are poor and the dining room large and bare-looking. A fine new hotel is badly wanted, but I think there will be one before long; however, the food is good and the Chinese waiters attentive.

The streets are full of interest. One sees Europeans, Indians, Turks, Japanese, Jews, Chinese, Malays, half-castes, Cingalese and many others, and the fine looking "Sikh" Policeman is greatly in evidence.

As we arrived about nine o'clock in the morning, we had the whole day before us, and were very grateful for the warmth and sunshine after the cold days we had spent on board on our way from Japan. Chinamen were sitting about on the pavement with huge baskets with beautiful sweet scented flowers, and we bought handfuls of roses for a few cents; and in the gardens great bunches of camellias were growing. In the native quarter we bought carved sandal wood boxes and embroideries and souvenir spoons. We took rickshaws and went to the "Happy Valley," to visit the Parsee, Mahomedan, Jewish and English cemeteries, where lovely flowers were blooming, and back again past the Barracks. If one wishes to climb to a higher level along the cool, fern-shaded

roads, it is necessary to take Sedan Chairs. These are usually without cover and very pleasant it is to ride in them. Some of the private ones are very attractive, some people having four or even eight coolies to carry them in liveries of perhaps of red and white, or pale blue and white, and the reclining cushions carrying out the scheme of colour. The English ladies vie with each other as to who shall have the prettiest livery. People live luxuriously in Hong-Kong.

One afternoon we were invited to tea by the officers of H. M. S. "Barfleur," and kindly shewn over her. There were several battleships in the harbour belonging to different nations, and plenty of Chinese junks and other vessels. In the evening we went with our friends to a ball, going and returning in Sedan Chairs. It was a lovely evening, but almost too warm for dancing. The Governor was there and the General and Commodore. The naval and military uniforms together with the lovely dresses of the ladies made a gay and brilliant spectacle.

We were very desirous of visiting Canton while we were so near, but we were afraid there would be a certain amount of danger so soon after the rising in Pekin; however, we were assured it would be perfectly safe, so decided to go. Canton is seven hours up the river from Hong-Kong. There were a great number of third-class passengers on board, lying about smoking opium or playing games: we went below to look at them, but the particular odour which hangs about where there are a number of Chinamen congregated together never makes one want to stay with them long. Suddenly we heard a splash and the steamer came to a standstill. A man had jumped overboard. They lowered a boat to find him, but he did not appear again, and in a few minutes we went on again. But suicides in China are much too common to cause much commotion, and soon he seemed to have been forgotten. We were the only white people on board except the Captain, and an American officer who was taking some of his men up to an American gunboat at Canton. The officer told us he had often seen the dead bodies of babies floating in the river just outside the city, where they had been thrown by their parents who considered themselves too poor to keep them, it is usually the girls they rid themselves of in this manner, as, they say, "girls are expensive and do not earn anything," but occasionally they throw away their boys also, if they think the family too large. Often, however, another family not possessing sons will be only too glad to adopt a boy, as it is the duty of a son to pray at his father's grave and ensure his entrance into Heaven. As we neared Canton thousands of boats were moving slowly past each other, and some were

already being tied up for the night. The people who live on the boats are a separate class from the landmen, many are born and die upon them, we could see them taking their evening meal or putting their children to bed, and some girls were leaning over the side cleaning their teeth with water from the river.

We stayed on the Island of Shameen where the Foreign Consuls and a few residents live. It is connected by a bridge to Canton and the gates are protected by soldiers, no Chinamen who are not servants on the island are allowed there after dark. But the soldiers are Chinese, and I should think would not have been much protection had there been a rising, as they would probably have sided with the Cantonese. Just before dark we walked round Shameen. It is a pretty little place and there is a Tennis Club; several members were playing, and ladies were promenading on the Bund.

There were gunboats of all nations round the Island, put there since the Peking rising, so it was comparatively safe, the summer before the residents went in fear of their lives. Everyone, even the ladies, slept with revolvers under their pillows, and the men took it in turn to patrol the Island at night. A lady who was residing there told us that when they said "Good-night" to each other they scarcely expected to meet in the morning. Every day or so a placard would appear somewhat to this effect, "we are coming to kill you all at two o'clock to-morrow morning." At last the tension grew so great the ladies were sent away, some of them going to Japan, and not returning until after the gunboats arrived.

Next morning at nine o'clock, the guide, the celebrated "Ah Cum," came for us with chairs and coolies, three or four coolies to each chair; they were covered over the tops and sides and only open in the front, the guide was carried first, myself second, and my father brought up the rear. We were taken straight over the bridge into Canton, the coolies keeping up a little jog trot all the time. We traversed many miles of streets during the day. The streets are not more than seven or eight feet wide and swarm with people, and it is sometimes very difficult to get along. In the butcher's shops one sees besides ordinary meats, dogs, cats, rats, etc., and they cut up the fish alive as they consider the flavour is so much better. Several pails with fish in them stand by the sides of the stalls and they cut a slice out as they want it and put the fish back until it is required again. The Chinese seem to have very little regard for suffering. We went into several temples and saw the water clock on the walls, and visited the execution ground, where two men had been executed the day before and the man in charge fetched one of the heads from under a mat

and held it up by the hair. For five dollars you can have a man's head chopped off especially for you (of course he must be a condemned man), but can be brought out of prison at a moment's notice. I heard that an American traveller actually had this done, as there happened to be no public executions while he was there, much to his disappointment. He afterwards bought the sword from the executioner, and took it home as a trophy to show to his admiring friends.

We also saw the Examination Halls; these contain hundreds of brick cells, and the student is kept strictly guarded speaking to no one (and taking his food in with him) until the Examination is over.

We had lunch, which we had brought with us from the Hotel and the guide had set out for us, at the top of the five storey pagoda on the city walls in front of the altar where incense was burning, and great ugly red gods looked down on us. It was a most peculiar place to have a meal in, but we were rewarded for our climb to the top by the splendid view from the windows. The city lay before us on one side, the surrounding country on the other.

After lunch we went into several shops where workmen were carving wood or ivories, we bought a carved ivory ball, and inside were nine other carved balls one within the other, a carved fan and other things; at another shop some beautifully embroidered Mandarin ladies' dresses, also some articles made from shark's skin, gold ear-rings overlaid with kingfisher's feathers, and some of the wonderful pictures painted on rice paper. Five or six artists were sitting round a table, one sketched the picture and passed it on to the next who did the flesh tints, another put in the touches of red, another the yellow, and so on; in this way they are able to work very quickly, especially as they reproduce the same picture many times; the artists are only paid two or three pence each a day. Some of the pictures represented children's games, others, different Chinese tortures or "punishments" as *they* call them. There was the man tied hand and foot on to a bench, his body in the form of a circle and tipped forward on to his knees; he remains in this position until he has confessed what he is wanted to confess; the man with the "cangue" or heavy wooden collar round his neck, and the man in the tub containing earth and quicklime, his head and hands protruding (the victim of this torture usually takes about three days to die); then there is kneeling on chains, ankle smashing, beheading and the terrible "ling-chi," or death by the "thousand cuts" or "slow process."

Afterwards we went to the prison, the Court had just been sitting, and eight men were coming out to be executed, and

before we knew it we were pushed into the crowd in the Court yard : we waited a little and I began to feel rather nervous, hundreds of Chinese eyes were upon me, there was no other woman present as far as I could see, my father and the guide stood close to me on either side, and I was of more interest to the crowd for the moment than the condemned men they had come to see, two or three remarks were made which the guide instantly silenced ; being an old man known to them, he was greatly respected, otherwise I do not think we should have been safe. In a few minutes to my great relief the prisoners were brought out carried by coolies in baskets slung to bamboo poles, they had chains on their wrists and ankles, and their pigtailed done into knots behind their heads, to which labels were attached, their names and crimes written upon them. They passed so close to us we could have touched them, the soldiers going first and passing through the same door by which we had entered, the prisoners being carried through a small door next to it and called the "dead door." They were to be executed just outside, the crowd followed directly behind, but we had seen enough, and as soon as we were left alone stepped into our chairs and got quickly away. We heard afterwards that the executed men were robbers. Sometimes people lose their lives in China for very trifling offences. My chair coolies told me that one day a Mandarin was passing through the streets in his Sedan Chair followed by his retinue, when he happened to see a boy picking somebody's pocket ; he had been annoyed a few weeks previously by hearing of a number of petty thefts that had occurred, so instantly ordered the unfortunate lad to be hanged over the nearest shop and he was left dangling there, an example to the youths of the district.

We returned to Shamoen again about six o'clock and were very glad of an hour's quiet and rest after the excitement and fatigue of the day.

The next morning we left for Macao, an old Portuguese town, four or five hours from Canton by water. The chief thing of interest there is the Fantan playing in the gambling houses, it did not appear to us to be very exciting, but the Chinese evidently find it so, as it is not uncommon for a man to return home absolutely ruined. As it is only about two hours away from Hong-Kong, many of the English residents there spend the week ends in Macao, it is healthy and there is fine sea bathing. We stayed a day or two longer in Hong-Kong, then left on the "Beñgal" for Ceylon. We had a perfectly delightful passage, each day it grew warmer as we went steadily south, so that we were able to sit out on deck after dinner until quite late, we ladies without any wraps

over our evening dresses, in fact it was almost the only time during the day when we were really comfortable, the punkahs were going all day in the saloon.

The heat was almost unbearable at Singapore; we arrived there early in the morning and spent the whole day on shore. We drove to the Botanical Gardens in a little carriage open all round to catch the air, but with a cover over the top to keep the sun off, even then we were nearly melted. The vegetation was luxuriant, the palms, trees and flowers quite tropical, and there were a number of monkeys running about. Most of the people are Malays, they are mostly chocolate coloured, but some are jet black, they only wear a loin cloth and the children are naked.

They drive such pretty little bullocks in the carts, quite different from the big ugly ones in Japan.

There are a great number of Chinese in Singapore, they are rather fine looking men as compared with the Cantonese, they pull the rickshaws which are usually made large enough to hold two people.

After partaking of lunch with plenty of iced drinks in the cool marble Dining Hall of the Hotel, we went to the Race Course to see a Polo Match played by some of the officers, in which some friends of ours were taking part. There were a number of people there, all English, and we had four o'clock tea and spent a very pleasant afternoon, reaching the ship again in time for dinner.

We stayed a few hours at Penang the day but one afterwards, and in two or three days more reached Ceylon about two o'clock in the afternoon.

C. MILLICENT KNIGHT.

ART. IV.—THE TWO TABLES OF STONE OF THE DECALOGUE.

[PROPOSED EXPEDITION TO RECOVER THE TWO TABLES OF STONE OF THE DECALOGUE.]

IN my Essay on the "Œcumenical List of Translations of the Holy Scriptures, classified scientifically according to Geographical, and Linguistic, considerations up to the year 1900," published as a Bible-House Paper, No. IV, 1901, and reprinted in Series VI of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays" (pp. 329-362), I write as follows at p. 42: "In II Maccabees, ii, 5, we read, that Jeremiah the Prophet took the Ark to Mount Sinai, and placed it in a cave *there*, but the precise spot was unknown." I refrained from dealing further with that interesting subject in that Essay, proposing to return to it at leisure, which I now attempt to do.

We read in Exodus, xxxi, 18: "And He gave unto Moses, when He had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two Tables of Testimony, Tables of Stone written with the finger of God."

And again, Exodus, xxv, 16: "And thou shalt put into the Ark the Testimony which I shall give thee."

And again, Exodus, xl, 20: "And he took and put the Testimony into the Ark."

When Jerusalem was occupied and plundered by the King of Babylon, no mention is made of the fate of the Ark of the Covenant and its contents; nor on the return from Captivity is any mention made of its existence in the Second Temple.

We read in II Maccabees, ii, 1-8: "It is also found in the records, that Jeremiah the Prophet commanded them, that were carried away [to Babylon] . . . having given them the Law, that they should not forget the Statutes of the Lord, neither be led astray . . . that the Law should not depart from their heart. And it was contained in the writing, that the Prophet, being warned of God, commanded, that the Tabernacle and the Ark should follow with him, when he went forth in to the mountain, where Moses went up, and beheld the heritage of God. And Jeremiah came, and found a chamber in the rock, and there he brought in the Tabernacle and the Ark, and the altar of incense; and he made fast the door. And some of those that followed with him came there, that they might mark the way, and could not find it. But when Jeremiah perceived it, he blamed them, saying: 'Yea, and the place shall be unknown until God gather the people again together, and Mercy come: and then shall the Lord disclose these

things, and the Glory of the Lord shall be seen, and the Cloud."

Here we have a distinct, and not unreasonable, Legend of two thousand years old. It is possible that the Ark of the Covenant and the Table of the Law may be in existence, for many a survival of Antiquity of a much older date than that of Moses has come to light in Egypt and Mesopotamia in these latter days, and the writing has been interpreted.

It would be interesting from two points of view : I. Religious ; II. Scientific. I leave it to others to deal with the first point ; I confine myself to the latter.

If we find anything answering to these requirements, we shall be able to solve a hitherto insoluble question : " In what form was the written Character of the Decalogue originally recorded in the Desert ? " Alphabetic it could not have been ; ideographic it might have been, as Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and the Israelites had sojourned a long time in Egypt. It would in every way be worth the while of this generation to send out one or more expeditions to make search on the spot for Caves, and Inscribed Stones, such as have been found in abundance in Egypt.

But a difficulty meets us on the threshold of our inquiry, and doubles the area of our investigations.

" Where was Mount Sinai ? "

A kind of halo has surrounded a certain Mountain in the Sinaitic Peninsula. There is no continuous Tradition to support this assertion. The subject has lately been carefully threshed out by one, whom all will admit to be most capable, and unprejudiced, Professor Sayce, of Oxford, and placed before that portion of the general public, which is capable of appreciating his arguments, and is not so entirely drowned in a sea of mediæval, quasi-Religious, prejudice as to be unable to look at the subject calmly. A belief in the geographical identity of the Red Sea and Mount Sinai is by some as important as a belief in the Trinity. I quote the last paragraph of Professor Sayce's Essay in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1893.

" It may seem cruel to disturb the convictions of the numerous travellers, who have patiently supported the fatigues of a journey among the rocks of the Sinaitic Peninsula, under the belief, that they were treading in the steps of the Children of Israel. But in spite of the tradition of the last sixteen centuries, that belief is, as I have endeavoured to show, contrary to the combined evidence of the Old Testament and the Egyptian Monuments. Where the mountain peak of Sinai actually was, we do not know ; perhaps we never shall ; but of one thing we may be certain, and that is,

that it was not in the Peninsula, which is now called Sinaitic. We have to look for it on the borders of Midian and Edom, among the ranges of Mount Seir, and in the neighbourhood of the ancient Sanctuary of Kade'h Barnea, whose site at Ain Qadis has been discovered in our own day. It was here that the Israelites received the Mosaic Law, after their journey along the way of the Wilderness of the Yam Suph."

A valued Hebrew friend, the Rabbi of a great Synagogue, with whom I have discussed this subject, wrote to me last year as follows :—

"Concerning the Tables of Stone, I am more than convinced, that they have not disappeared. Ancient Tradition, not limited to the Book of the Maccabees, speaks strongly in favour of the hypothesis, that they have been hidden away together with other sacred vessels of the first Temple. Their discovery would revolutionize the whole world much more than all the discoveries made hitherto in Egypt or Assyria, and would settle once for all many of the questions connected with the Scriptures."

I write these lines in the hopes of encouraging some Scholar-Traveller to take up this subject, and give two or three years to it.

I well recollect when I was at Cairo in February, 1843, in the time of old Mahomet Ali Pasha, seeing a party of Englishmen starting to Mount Sinai on their camels. I was young then, and no subject ever roused such an excitement in me. I was bound to India, but I longed to start for Mount Sinai, of which little was known at that date nearly sixty years ago. I have since, at long intervals, twice traversed the whole of Palestine from Hebron to Damascus, and longed to break southward to Mount Sinai, or Mount Seir; but it was not to be. I wish that I could live to touch the Two Tables of Stone with a reverent hand, as I have many an older object in Egypt and India. All that I can do is to point out that the search is reasonable, and the finding of this interesting relic feasible.

R. N. CUST, LL.D.

ART. V.—NARA-BELI.

“**M**ONK’S-HOOD is very poisonous. Beware !” says an old gem of a proverb. Like certain signet-rings holding poison worn by Oriental rulers, this jewel of five words contains the concentrated essence of the world’s accumulated wisdom and experience of the evils of priestcraft. And, indeed, in no country under the sun have these evils left such abiding marks on the national life as they have in India. Take the case of the Khond priest, for instance, who in the delirium of inspiration chants, preparatory to the ceremony of immolation, the wierd formula :—“ In the beginning was the earth—a formless mass of mud and could not have borne the dwelling of a man, or even his weight ; in the liquid and ever-moving slime, neither tree nor herb took root. Then God said :—‘ Spill human blood before my face !’ And they sacrificed a child before him. . . . Falling upon the soil, the bloody drops stiffened and consolidated it.” But the practice of *nara-beli* was not confined to the denizens of Khondistan or the hill tracts of Ganjam alone, which have acquired such a melancholy celebrity from being the scene of so many *merials* (sacrifices), on the other hand, it was at one time generally practised by most of the non-Aryan forest tribes of South India. Strange survivals of the practice are to be met with even to-day amongst the mountaineers of Coorg, “ loveliest among the kingdoms”—which, as one of her own poets has said :—‘ thrones high above the many glorious kingdoms of Jambudwipa, as thrones the snowy Mahaméru high above the lofty hills’—and those mysterious inhabitants of the Nilgiris, the Thantawars, or as it is now the fashion to call them, Todas. Tumuli containing the unburnt bones of infants have been discovered on the Nilgiris, beside the burnt bones of grown persons—a circumstance which points to the old Toda practice of immolating infants at the funerals of the latter. Curiously enough, the immolation of persons is intimately connected with a species of the gold-mania. If the gamblers and brokers of the “ Kaffir Circus,” for instance, pursue a paperchase of shares in “ the Randt ” and other gold-mining companies, their dusky brethren of Ind, according to their lights and in their own way, follow the shining example. Less enlightened and less enterprising, they resort to equally parlous and desperate expedients, with the same object and in a like manner. Verily, the Australian gold-digger and the African ‘ Gold King ’ have their counter parts in Southern India. Nor is an element of romance wanting in the career of the treasure trove hunter, who

in this, as in other respects, might be expected to fraternise with his brethren of the gold-fields of Johannesburg and the diamond-mines of Kimberly. "How quickly nature falls into revolt when gold becomes her object!" is the obvious moral of this golden madness, all the wide wide world over. Especially is this the case in most parts of India, where it is common belief that a human sacrifice is a *sine qua non* to the discovery of a hoard. This is evidenced by a recent sensational case in Bellary, where a man killed his child at a shrine for the sake of supposed hidden treasure.

A similar story, also of recent occurrence, comes from another part of the Presidency. A Konkani Brahmin, a native of Cranganore in Native Cochin, took it into his head that there was a treasure trove in his *paramba*. Accordingly, straight he went one morning to the inevitable *Kanisan*, or village astrologer, for a "consultation." The oracle predicted that there really was treasure secreted in his compound, and counselled the performance of a *nara-beli* if he wished to unearth the hoard. The Konkani, hankering after the buried treasure-pots and half fancying himself a rich man already, by now absolutely had gold on his brain, so, by hook or by crook, he was resolved on having recourse to the *nara-beli*. But how to get a live man to kill? Of course, to seek the aid of others in so hazardous an enterprize was not to be thought of: he might as well tie the rope round his own neck. So, plotting and planning, alas! what did the wretched Konkani do but to attempt to murder in cold blood a young girl, a relation of his? Dragging the poor innocent thing one day into a room, her hands and feet tied up, he stood ready, knife in hand, to chop her head off at one blow! But the would-be murderer was stricken with sudden qualms of conscience. He loathed to shed the blood of a poor unresisting girl—a member of his household. At last, with eyes shut and hands trembling, he feebly roused himself and dealt out what was to have been the fatal blow, but his whole body shook and his courage failed. The blow missed its aim, the girl got off with her life, but was nevertheless seriously injured. Then alone did the youthful, ignorant victim realise her sad predicament. Her loud cries attracted to the spot the inmates of the house, and soon led to her relief. The Konkani is now in Police custody.

Human sacrifices appear to have been the order of the day in Coorg in former times. They were offered to secure favour of the *grāma-devatas* or tutelary deities who are supposed to protect the villages from the ravages of cholera and small-pox. "In Kirindádu and Konincheri-Grama in Katiednád, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Kali, and during the offering by the

Panikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (álu-amma, i.e., a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, ádu," i.e., "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed."

A little over a century ago, an authentic instance of *nara-beli* occurred near Cottayam town in North Travancore. A landlord had been occupied sometime throwing up embankments across a canal to stop the egress of water. However persistent his efforts, they were unavailing, as the current each time forced a breach and carried off the bund. In this dilemma, he sought advice of some Brahmin neighbours of his, who prescribed the drastic remedy of a treble *nara-beli* as the best means of preserving the bund. Accordingly three young girls were offered up ~~on the spot~~, their blood drenching and streaking the ground. Whether, however, this had the desired effect we will not pause to enquire; but the facts are, as stated by a writer in a Madras periodical just fifty years ago. "Thou art a dolt and wilt just serve to fill a breach. Art good for aught else?" is a saying familiar in the mouth of every irate Malayalee, in respect of a never-do-well. And thereby hangs a tale, it being understood that the lives of Chathan and Koran were nothing accounted of in days gone by. Should one of these gentry meet a Nair on the road, he must turn off it, and not allow his "beggarly unhandsome corpse to come between the wind and their nobility" at a nearer distance than forty-two paces. The Pulayas, the lowest of the low, whose touch is untold pollution and whose breath an abomination, form the agrestic slaves of the Malabar social system. They are the Helots of the West Coast. In the pre-British days, they were bought and sold like heads of cattle. They had no rights and were beyond the pale of civil society. In many respects, they were worse than the beasts of the field. They were treated by their Nair overlords whose *hauteur* and *vere de vereism* is something remarkable, were these poor despised outcasts, with a severity that has no parallel or finds a parallel only in the case of the Negro slaves of North America. Now, cases of repeated and destructive breaches of the banks of canals or reservoirs were ascribed to the displeasure of some forest goddess, minor divinity, or evil spirit. Such evils are averted by proper propitiation, which—prior to the introduction of British rule—occasionally took the wholesome form of hurling one or more of these outcast innocents into the breach, and quickly heaping earth on the victim or victims. They were sometimes decoyed into the pits dug for foundations and there buried. This was done to secure good luck. Their ghosts, in such cases, were supposed to keep watch and ward over secret vaults of treasure. The greatest of Travancore Sovereigns, the conqueror and regenerator of the once "model"

state, Martanda, is thus said to have caused the immolation of as many as fifteen infants on one occasion. This he did to insure success in the many bloody and interminable wars he waged to cleanse the land and weld it into power and harmony. Like Arthur of romance, he fought so hard against his wild barons and was so far successful that he eventually improved them off the face of the realm.

The obvious and ready mode of marking graves by Cairn heaps was at one time largely practised in Southern India. Indeed, the use of "Druidical" structures in connection with funeral and religious purposes still lingers amongst the Kasias, Kols and other aboriginal tribes. There are an immense number of these Cairns in the districts of Salem, Madura, Coimbatore, and Malabar, not to speak of the Nilgiris, which possess a kind of Cairn peculiar to themselves, elaborately described half a century ago by Captain Congreve. Many of these primæval sepulchres have been opened from time to time, many more remain unexplored, while in most places the slabs covering them have been removed for practical purposes, the plough passing over their soon forgotten sites. These Cairns are supposed to contain treasure, are often dug out to the bottom, searched, and their contents scattered.

The idea is prevalent generally all over Malabar that gold secreted in the earth is jealously guarded by *ólutha thanmar* (gnomes). Unlike other spirits, they are not readily propitiated by the sacrifice of fowls or goats; and if the object be to induce them to part with hidden treasure, a *nara-beli* becomes imperative. Likewise, it is held that a *nara-beli* is indispensable to facilitate the construction of a new line of railway, or of any big bridge, as for instance, when its foundations in building give unusual trouble. In such cases, if a *nara-beli* is offered, better results are at once secured. Another superstition clinging to a treasure trove is, perhaps, not so widespread as the foregoing. "You may well go a-borrowing," says the Malayalam proverb, "should you see a *Katalavanak* (a species of wild castor oil) plant pushing out new roots overground"—the idea being that there will surely be a *nikshepa* or hoard underneath. This belief also applies to the *nux vomica* plant.

U. BALA KRISHNAN NAIR.

ART. VI.—THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.

IT is not, perhaps, very difficult to account for the general sentiment of dislike which continental nations have always shown for the people of England. It arose in a period when we were little known, and when foreigners regarded the *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos* much as the contemporaries of Augustus regarded our Keltic predecessors. "He's a stranger : heave half a brick at him," said the immortal pit-man in *Punch* ; and the Briton underwent the operation of a universal law. When railways and tourist-tickets began to alter this remoteness, and show the people of these islands in person, it ~~did~~ not follow that the dislike would be diminished : indeed something came to be added to it. Formerly, such samples of British humanity, as came before the continental observers, were great lords lavishing money, or diplomatists imbued with social tradition and washed with French polish, the Bolingbrokes, Chesterfields, and Granvilles, who even bred a kind of occasional 'Anglomaniia at the Courts they honoured with their presence. The cheap trippers have introduced another ideal.

But there was always one nation that might have known as better. Parted by twenty miles of familiarly-known water, very closely allied by blood, constantly associated from the very beginning of national existence, the French and English ought to have been intimately acquainted with each other, with each other's good qualities no less than with defects. The Straits of Dover and other parts of the channel had been ploughed by their mutual vessels for centuries. So far back as the eleventh century England had begun to imbibe French civilisation, so that the so-called "conquest" was rather a change of dynasty than a foreign invasion, although strong animosity prevailed between the Norman William and his technical overlord at Paris. England thus became a rebellious French province. This fusion, however incomplete in the earlier stage, gradually gave rise, no doubt, to a new nationality. Already the centuries of invasion and amalgamation by which the earlier Northmen had been influencing England, had introduced among the Anglo-Saxon races an element which in France was almost restricted to one province ; and as that province did not at first form part of the Capetian realm, the Scandinavian element was absent from the French origins. Thus arose a virility, a tenacity, and a practical sagacity, by which our very mixed breed has ever since continued to be distinguished.

The intercourse between the two nations nevertheless con-

tinued : sometimes friendly, often pugnacious enough, it was in any case close enough to keep up a constant familiarity. They might be friends or they might be foes : they could not be strangers. Brilliant, brave, and ready, the French held towards their steadier neighbours a relation in some measure resembling that of a high-strung lady to her more practical lord : when they were on good terms the French prospered, when they quarrelled it usually went ill with France. The quarrel indeed between Philip Augustus and the Plantagenets ended advantageously for France so far as the annexation of Normandy was concerned ; but the immediate result might only have been a union of the two crowns. Nothing but the premature death of King John and the wisdom of a few of the Anglo-Norman Barons would have caused the discomfiture and retreat of the Dauphin Louis. The next reign saw a great influx of French manners into England ; and the loss of Normandy did not prevent the Plantagenet Kings from exercising a very practical sway in other parts of France ; while the French tongue continued to be the medium of communication in literature, law, and society, as much as one side of the channel as on the other.

It was not until the Hundred-Years War that a complete separation of the nations occurred. Under a revived sense of national individuality the composite English of Chaucer emerged, with a House of Commons doing business in a language enriched, indeed, by French importation, but ultimately based on the old Teutonic idiom of Bede and Alfred. Still the old instinct for union persisted. Henry V. and his infant son were both crowned at Paris, and the fleur-de-lys appeared upon the scutcheon of English Royalty. During the fifteenth century France was slowly consolidating while England (and to a less degree Scotland also) writhed under intestine conflict. But the Tudors began a period of civil organization and a new system of foreign politics. With all his obvious faults, Henry the Eighth was by nature a statesman ; and his aspirations for the balance of power led him, after a few years of indecision, into an alliance with France which might have borne better fruit but for the blight that followed. The unhappy Spanish connection was formed by his daughter Mary, and its effects—so disastrous for England—were only ended by the defeat of the Armada and accession of Henri of Navarre to the French throne. From that period for about a century-and-a-half there was friendship between the two nations, during which each benefited largely, each receiving that in which it was surpassed by the other. For fifty years a common dread of Spain kept France and England in friendly approximation ; and however much the feeble policy of the first two Stuarts

may have introduced an element of instability into foreign relations there was, from the death of Richelieu in 1642 to that of Fleury in 1743, hardly an interruption of amity between them. The wars which succeeded ended ill for France, whose colonial administration and armies were ruined and exterminated, alike in America and in India. The war with Napoleon at the termination of which the Bourbons recovered their throne is hardly an instance of national conflict; and the Restoration was followed by peace that has never been broken, and by alliances in which the sons of both countries have fought side by side.

Now, setting aside old dynastic quarrels, it is plain that in modern times the friendship of France and Great Britain has been mutually beneficial, while their enmity has brought misfortune, especially to France. The fact is that each people has peculiar qualities which enable one to supplement the shortcomings of the other. Without offence, surely, one may say that the French are inferior to the English in some of the rougher elements of individual character, while they as certainly excel in social amenity and artistic skill. In Stuart times form and polish were freely imported into England by such men as Grammont and Saint Evremond, until the somewhat amorphous vigour of Shakespeare and of Milton became transmuted into the more artificial regularity of Dryden and Pope; but a time was at hand when the process was reversed, and when Locke and Newton were to find their French interpreter in Voltaire, while Richardson and Fielding were to be followed by Marivaux and Rousseau and La Harpe was to lay down, in his professional course, that "Tom Jones" was the greatest fiction in the world.

Nor was the interchange of literary thought and workmanship the only profitable intercourse between the nations in the first half of the eighteenth century. The simultaneous financial crisis of 1720 was met and remedied by similar measures on both sides of the channel; and the combination by which the unscrupulous intrigues of the Italians who were trying to work Philip V. for their own purposes, were only confounded by the vigorous conduct of Berwick on the mainland of Spain and the energy of the British fleet in the Mediterranean. Had Elizabeth Farnese and her Minister Alberoni succeeded, Britain might have emerged unhurt—indeed she resisted the Chevalier de St. Georges without any French help. But Philip would have taken the place of his cousin of Orleans as Regent in France, and that country would, for a time at least, have played the unwelcome part of Spanish Satellite. From this she was undoubtedly saved by Stanhope and Walpole; the alliance brought with it the

co-operation of Holland and the sympathy of Austria ; Phillip's resources were so evidently unequal to the struggle that the courage of the Queen gave way ; Alberoni went into permanent exile to cultivate his hereditary market garden ; and the French Revolution was adjourned for fifty years.

Of the international relations of more recent times it would be difficult to say very much without treading on ashes not yet cold. Thus much, however, may be safely asserted. Even if the alliances with Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. were not productive of the same beneficial effects as what followed on some earlier occasions, it is certain that the prosperity of both dynasties—Orleanist and Bonapartist—waxed and waned in proportion as the “understanding” was or was not “cordial.” When Louis Philippe deceived Queen Victoria and her Ministers about the affairs of Spain, he forfeited the confidence of England ; and the fall of his throne soon followed. The power of Napoleon III. culminated in 1856 and declined from the time when, in 1862, he made war upon the Mexican Republic in contempt of British advice.

The present French system has lived longer than any of its predecessors since the Revolution of 1790. Whether it is finally consolidated or not who can positively pronounce ? One thing alone is certain : with such powers of recuperation, such resources of mind and matter, as the French possess, they can never be safely treated as decadent or as a negligible quantity in the affairs of Christendom. Mistakes they have made and will continue to make, as a daring initiative tempts them into the indulgence of impulse, and the undertaking of premature enterprises. In this path disappointment may await them, perhaps disaster ; though even then the omens of Vio announce the eventual recovery of that fine nation :—

Per danina, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animunque ferro.

But their immediate future must depend upon the choice to be made in the days now passing. Many temptations invite. Their unrivalled resources of climate and soil offer the various incitements of song and dance, and a refined voluptuousness. Rome woos them to an elegant fanaticism, not unminged with intolerance. The clash of arms has left an echo in their ears ; their eyes are dazzled with a mirage of glory. An *entente cordiale* with insular neighbours offers only the interchange of mental and material produce, coal for claret, and poetry for prose. For good or for evil, for the amenities of peace as for the evil tempers of hostility, the silver streak of the Straits has never been a barrier, and is now less so than ever. It does not need the Watkin-tunnel to make us con-

terminous: the spirit of proximity cannot be exorcised; but on the direction in which it is to act must hang momentous issues. Cardinal Mazarin—who had made good use of the iron-sides in that strange campaign where Condé commanded against Turenne and Englishmen fought on either side—said on his death-bed (in 1661) that the English alliance was a necessity, England being in his opinion “France’s *natural ally*.”

H. G. KEENE.

ART. VII.—THE HUMAN LION.

ACCORDING to Hindu tradition the third incarnation of *Vishnu* was for the destruction of *Hiranniaksha*. That monstrous mighty giant having overcome all power on earth, made the earth itself into a roll, and thrusting it into a bore in his ear hid himself into the *pathala* or the nether regions. All mankind cried out for help, and great confusion prevailed among the gods. To alleviate the misery of suffering humanity *Vishnu* incarnated as the Great Boar, uplifted the earth on his tusk, destroyed *Hiranniaksha* and rescued mankind.

To all except *Hiranniakasipu*, a younger brother of *Hiranniaksha*, the death of that monster was an infinite relief. While others exulted over his end, *Hiranniakasipu* secretly prepared himself for vengeance. But finding himself too unequal to the formidable task of opposing *Vishnu* in open warfare, he resolved to overcome his superior might by means of a stratagem. He left his relations and friends, and went to a distant forest where he gave himself up to a most severe penance. At last the Deity being much pleased appeared unto him, and bade him prefer his prayer. And he prayed that he may not die by the hand of man nor of beast nor of bird nor of any god, that neither from within nor from without his abode may life part from his body, that he may be invulnerable to any of the known weapons of warfare, and that neither day nor night may witness his death. The prayer was granted, and *Hiranniakasipu* returned triumphant to his palace.

From that day forth he called himself God. It was made known to all his subjects that instead of God they should thereafter worship him and him alone. Instead of saying "I adore Thee, O God," everyone should say thereafter "I adore Thee, O *Hiranniakasipu*." Those who were heard to mutter the name of *Naraina* were punished, and the fear of God was thus utterly eradicated.

One day *Hiranniakasipu* called his pet son, *Prahlada*, to his side, and seating him in his lap fondly held him close to his bosom, and asked him what was the best knowledge he had gained. The boy unhesitatingly answered, "In all the great things I have learned, there is not anything greater than the great truth that great is the good and gracious God that made us all and this vast universe." The very assertion would have been enough to make *Hiranniakasipu* burn with rage. The enthusiasm with which the boy uttered that sublime philosophy drove him mad, and forgetting himself the cruel monster turned

out his son by the nape of his neck with such vehemence that the poor boy flew from the spot as a stone from a catapult. His teachers were summoned, and were given strict injunctions to make him understand that there was no power superior to his own father's, and that if he continued to believe in a Supreme being he would thereby incur the gravest displeasure of the king. They did their utmost to carry out the instructions of the tyrant, but the boy's faith in an Almighty Father was so firm that it could not be shaken by any amount of preaching or threatening. When after a long time the monster called him a second time to his side and put to him the same question as on the previous occasion, the innocent boy with a beaming smile surprised him with the answer: Father, your ignorant son has not grown a whit wiser than he was before. He knows not anything greater and mightier than the merciful Creator and protector of the universe. The tyrant once more burnt with terrible anger, and ordered the young traitor to be led away out of his presence. Since that moment he thought his erring son incorrigible, and concerted measures to put an end to his life, so that he may not propagate his evil doctrines. Ten graduated measures of cruelty are said to have been successively adopted for the destruction of the boy. On one occasion the tyrant ordered him to be bound hand and foot and cast into the ocean, with large hills and mountains tied round his body to make his drowning easy. But as soon as the huge mass was dropped into the waves the ties all broke of themselves, and the boy gently floated on the surface of the water and was saved. Another time the *ashtagajas* (eight elephants) and the *ashtanagas* (eight serpents) were employed to kill the boy, but no sooner did these cruel animals and reptiles approach him than they felt as if they had lost all their power and venom, and they went back without hurting him. Next we are told that *Hirannikasipu* raised a number of evil spirits by means of some low witchcraft. Dreadful beings they went up to *Prahlada* with thundering yells, thirsting for human blood. But when they approached him they felt as if he were not intended to be their prey, and turning against one another put an end to themselves. *Hirannikasipu*'s next attempt to get rid of his son was one of the most inhuman of his deeds. He sat on his throne of gold in a room in the uppermost storey of a lofty tower, whose height is said to have been a hundred *yojanas* or four hundred miles from the surface of the earth. Thence he sent for his son, and when the boy went and stood before him with the innocence of an angel, *Hirannikasipu* ordered him to be thrown mercilessly down the tower through a window. The tyrant's order was at once obeyed, but when *Prahlada* was

about to reach the ground the goddess Earth appeared and caught him.

Baffled thus in every attempt and defeated at every point, *Hirannikasipu* became exasperated. He resolved to make the last attempt to put an end to the life of his son. Calling him into his presence the tyrant questioned him at the pitch of his voice why he so persistently believed in a Supreme Being, and whether he could tell him where such a Being could be found. *Prahlada* stood before his father with respect, but firm and fearless was his attitude. "Father," he said, "O! erring father, let not your throat thrill forth this blasphemy. The Almighty God is omnipresent. He is in you, in me, in this dead pillar and everywhere." Upon this the tyrant angrily asked if God was in the pillar, and receiving an affirmative answer he drew out his sword from its sheath and dealt a fearful blow on the pillar. The pillar reeled thrice, and out from it sprang a Being whose very sight would have chilled the blood. It was the Human Lion, the fourth incarnation of Vishnu. The Human Lion is described as having the head and the claws of a fearful lion, with a number of arms round a broad chest, and resembling in its other limbs a human being. It had a long fight with *Hirannikasipu* and his host. At twilight it seized the monster and laying him flat on the threshold of a door tore his body into two with his sharp claws. He did not "die by the hand of man nor of beast nor of bird nor yet of any god"; "neither from within nor from without his abode did life part from his body;" he was "not vulnerable to any of the known weapons of warfare;" and "neither day nor night did witness his death." Yet earth was relieved of the weight of a huge monster whose injustice and cruelty and vices had made themselves felt so much.

Destroying *Hirannikasipu*, Vishnu in his fearful form sat in the throne of that monster still burning with rage. *Bramah* himself and the goddess *Lakshmi* were in despair not knowing how to pacify his anger. At last at the bidding of the former *Prahlada* humbly approached the throne, and on bended knees implored that he may have the mercy to change the form he had assumed. This had the desired effect, and *Vishnu* pacifying his rage, called *Prahlada* to his side, seated him in his lap, gave him his blessing and disappeared.

MYTHOLOGY.

ART VIII.—HINDU REFORM AND REFORMERS.

REMEMBER the first time I ever heard of Diogenes.

When I was told of how the Grecian philosopher had gone about in broad day-light, with a lantern in hand looking out for an honest man, I could not help breaking the traditions of an Indian school-room, with a wild outburst of laughter. He must have been mad, I thought, to go about with a lamp-light in the day time, and blind not to have found an honest man nearer home. I think so no longer, I think now that, in the India of the reformers, at least, one may do worse than go about, with a lamp-light, searching for—I will not say, honesty,—but moral courage. I do not wish to be misunderstood.

For reform activity so to call it, we have had enough of it, to judge by the sound and fury caused thereby, to last for a century and more. It has been with us for over four decades. Widow marriage has been a recognised institution in the eye of law since the fifties. Female education is over a quarter of a century old. Nor are other reforms of the kind, such as the prevention of infant marriage, and purity reform of yesterday and the day before. But how much better off are we to-day than we were before the genesis of any of these? Not much I am afraid. And for much of this little, we are indebted to foreign agencies and extraneous influences over which we have no control. How is this? How comes this poverty of results—this great disproportion between cause and effect—the machine power and the output? We can answer the question in four words—and those are, want of moral courage, want of moral courage on the part of those of us that have ostensibly laboured for our social progress—want of consistency between talk and action. I formulate no unfounded charge.

Some time ago it got abroad that Mr. T. (said to be Mr. Tawney of the Bengal Education Department) had given it as his opinion, to Dr. Pentecost, an American Missionary, at a private dinner, that Hindus were liars. Hindus were—consequently, furious—particularly the Hindus of Bengal. And for weeks and months the papers kept up a running fire of criticism and abuse against Mr. T. Some said he was ungrateful to blackguard those whose salt he was eating. Others pressed upon the notice of the Government, that one who held such a low opinion of the Hindus was not the man to be put in charge of their education. Others again cited MaxMüller, on the ancient Hindus, to establish the truthful character of their modern descendants. And if our great patriot-leader

had been trotted out, he would have rehearsed a piece of ancient history for our benefit. He would have told us, as he told an appreciative Nagpur audience some years ago: "You all remember my visit to the Oxford Union, gentlemen. A young noble lord there had the kindness to remind me that I was a barbarian. And how do you think, I replied to him? (he would have thundered) I told him that at a time when his forefathers were savages, clad in beast-skins, roaming in the forests of England, my ancestors, on the banks of the Ganges, propounded systems of philosophy that are still the admiration of the world?" And there would have been deafening applause, yet, the only answer possible to Mr. T.'s calumny, if calumny it was, lay in pointing out men of light and leading, from among the living, who lived truthful, honest lives. This, not one of the eloquent champions of the honour of the Hindu nation attempted. How was this, we might well ask? The fact was, they were conscious that the lying spirit was characteristic of the lives of the best of us; and conscience, in the words of the poet, makes cowards of us all. There may be reasons—and reasons in shoals—for this moral cowardice. We may be able to account for it by many of the circumstances amidst which we live and have our being. We may be able to account for it, as Professor Runganadam of Madras did, by the double lives we lead in our boyhood and youth—by the double lives—one truthful and in the school-room, the other customary and in the home circle—forced upon us by surroundings, in some measure at least, uncontrollable. All the same we cannot get over the fact, that a man like Keshub Chunder Sen, known in most parts of the enlightened world, as much for his piety as for his extraordinary intellectual powers, acted against his own convictions, broke his own rule, about the marriageable age of girls, and married his daughter to the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, before she was 14—that a man like Telang, of whom Mr. Lee Warner spoke only the other day, on the eve of his departure from Bangalore, as 'a great Hindu patriot,' as 'a man of pronounced genius,' as 'a great name' and as 'a name to conjure with in Bombay'; that a man like this should have belied all his reform professions, during the last days of his life, by getting his infant daughter married—that a man of the prominence of the Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, who has talked himself into a notoriety over half the globe, should not blush to own, when put to the test on his pronouncement about the castelessness of the shastraic teaching, that he was not bound to act up to his preaching—or that men like Justice Ranade, having had tea at the Mission House in Poona of their own free will, should not have scrupled to

go through *prayaschitta*, a ceremony perfectly meaningless to them, just to please their caste people. And the history of social reform in India is a bundle of facts like this. To be specific, one has but to analyse the results achieved under the head of each of the reforms that have bulked on our attention so long.

Take Widow-Marriage to begin with. We have had it preached from the platform and the press for many long years, yet the number of marriages celebrated throughout the country, can be counted on one's finger's ends. The reason is, that for one earnest man like the late Pandit Vidyasagara, or Veerasalingam Pantulu, there are tens and hundreds who swell the cry of Reform for the sake of fashion some, and notifiety others. These gentlemen are of the stamp of a temperance man, I knew, who took off his blue ribbon every time he had a drink: they lock up their reform convictions in a convenient corner of their desks every time they are called upon to administer the affairs of their domestic economy. There is also the unrighteous method adopted by many of these reformers to popularise the marriage, to take note of whatever might have been the impression about Vedas and Shastras in days when they were forbidden fruits to all but the Brahmans, to-day—thanks to Western Education—there can be no doubt about the contents and character of these. To-day we know the Vedas to be no more than hymns addressed to the elements in the childhood of the Aryan race—a period when the most active, the most powerful, and the most awful in Nature are calculated to impress the mind the most—and the Shastras to be no better than a collection of long-standing social practices amended and codified to suit the time which gave them birth. We know also that circumstances shape the laws of a country and not laws, the circumstances, and that a code of social laws that suited the times of our ancestors, who lived a thousand years ago, is obviously unsuited to ours. Yet there are those amongst our reformers, and those the more influential portion, who seek a shajstraic sanction for the reforms they recommend and find it, for the most part, in garbled and mutilated readings of shastric verses. This, to say the least, is dishonest, and as suicidal as it is dishonest. Now the shastras may be a name to silence some people with, and it may be easy, too, to mutilate them to suit our purpose. But a day is fast approaching when it will not be so easy to misread shastraic sanctions, and this difficulty added to the increased veneration for antiquated laws—that this objectionable method of the reformers is tending to—will oppose, to us, in the future, greater obstacles than we can think of at the present moment.

Let us pass on to the next reform on our list, *viz.*, Female Education. I do not suppose there is any single man of education, that is sane, who believes it to be either unnecessary or objectionable. Yet what is the state of Indian female education to-day? Better than it was even ten or fifteen years ago, it may be said, and statistics might be produced from Government reports to prove the statement. But what I ask is, for how much of this work can we, the enlightened Hindus of India, take the credit? We have one institution for the higher education of girls—the Bethune College of Calcutta. We have also a handful of other girl's schools like Mr. Sasi-pada Bannerji's school in Bengal, Mrs. Nikumbe's School in Bombay, Pandita Ramabai's *Saradha Sadhan* in Poona—which is for the present being wholly maintained by American funds—struggling for their very existence, amidst an apathetic populace. And these represent all the independent efforts we have put forth towards educating our womankind. As for the dense apathy in this matter that pervades Hindus, educated and uneducated alike generally, I may repeat two statements made to me by authorities well qualified to speak on the subject, concerning one district in the Madras Presidency. Seven years ago, happening to be in South Arcot, one of the most populous districts of Southern India, I called on Mrs. Benson, wife of the then District Judge, one of the best friends of the women of India. She gave me a woeful account of the state of female education there. Amongst other things, she told me that she had sent round a list for subscription for the prize-giving of a local girls' school, and not one native gentleman in Cuddalore could be got to put his name down for more than the very munificent sum of *four annas*. And recently, only two months ago, I had a similar account from Mr. A. Castlestuart Stuart, Acting Collector of the District. He said that, last year, the Head Master of a certain girls' school had appealed to him for subscription for a prize-giving; and when he called for the list, we found that, from among a population of about eighty thousand, only *two* rupees could be raised for the purpose. Naturally he sent it back, and refused to subscribe anything unless the people contributed more. The list went back to him again, after going the rounds—and this time Mr. Stuart saw that about thirty rupees had been subscribed. And he had a shrewd suspicion that most of it was got from the employés of his office. Yet Cuddalore does not suffer from dearth of rich men, or University men, or educated men, who could spout forth on the advantages of female education, and the duty that the educated man owes to his country. Comment upon this is needless.

Now to the question of Child Marriage. After years of persistent agitation against it, originated and carried on—amidst no common misrepresentation and abuse from people of whom better things might have been expected—by men of the moral calibre of Mr. Malabari of the Bombay *Indian Spectator*, the Government of India was induced to do a small measure of justice to the child wives of India, by passing the Age of Consent Act. But how was it received? The attitude of Bengal was, for the most part, absolutely hostile, and would be a disgrace to any body of men calling itself educated or enlightened. Yet Bengal teems with reform-spirits of no ordinary blatancy, and from year's end to year's end one hears there of nothing but virulent onslaughts on the Government for privileges not given away in a hurry or reforms delayed for a while. I do not say that we must all be highly-socially advanced before we can claim political privileges. History may, perhaps, be quoted against that view. What I say is this, that a man who is a tyrant at home and a freeman abroad—presents a sorry spectacle of human consistency and sense of fair play. And well may Anglo-Indians say, as the *Pioneer* said recently :

'Name a dozen men from amongst you, men who will not hesitate to do their duty in the face of public clamour, and enforce, for the good of the whole community, measures which meet with powerful opposition of vested interest and immemorial superstition. Englishmen can and do perform these things, mainly because they are Englishmen, and have the prestige of their race. What native ruler, for example, would have dared even if he had desired, to abolish the barbarous rite of widow burning? To whom but to English rulers is the suppression of infanticide, and Meriah sacrifice due? What even now, do the vast majority of the so-called cultured of this country care for the sufferings of the child widow, and who among them will lift a finger to abolish the detestable institution of infant marriage? Poll the country to-morrow on the single question—do you prefer that an Act should be passed prohibiting infant marriage, or suppressing cow-slaughter?—and there is not a vestige of doubt that 'educated India' to a man would 'plump for the cow.'

We now come to the last name on my list—the Purity Reform. In respect of popularity, it stands pre-eminently the first. Every one talks of it, and no one, unless he be hopelessly and incurably wicked, believes it is good to be immoral. Yet, are we more moral to-day than we were, say, ten or twenty years back? I am afraid not—if indeed we are not worse. The question has often been debated, whether morality could exist without or independently of religion, and has, as often,

been answered in the negative on the strength of the obviously untenable logic that there can be no religion without morality. Even if this were good logic, I think the major premise is wrong in fact. For I know of one religion, at least, which exists independently of morality. I mean Hinduism—not the book-religion—but the one practised, around us, throughout the length and breadth of the country. Our social system—if, indeed, anything so devoid of symmetry can be called a system—is deeply interwoven with religious superstitions. And we even eat, and sleep, and carry on commerce with the world religiously. Religion thus put to base uses has probably lost its sanctity—and its essential moral purpose. So, to be pious religiously with us, is not to be pious socially. Men who spend from four to five hours day after day, uttering *mantrams* and prayers, may, without the least compunction, live in open sin, with a concubine in every street. Temples may be turned into brothels. And our very *gurus* may wallow in sin—and sin of the most heinous character. There is no one to ask—to speak even a faint word of remonstrance. Society has no opinion to offer on the point, though it has its thunders to forge and belch forth against the man who does not wear his hair in conformity to the orthodox fashion, who goes about without his caste mark, or in a foreign costume, or refuses to fast on festive occasions. Yet there are Hindus who are never tired of writing and talking of our *superior* morals—men like the editors of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, of Calcutta, who treat us to two or three columns of the proceedings of the English divorce courts, week after week, to make us see our enviable social state, a state that has no history. These do not seem to perceive that defects abroad do not necessarily point to perfection at home. Nor have they the least suspicion that the pother made in European countries—particularly England—about moral slips in society, may be, in itself, an evidence of a high moral sense which we in India do not possess. And such is, in sooth, the fact. English morality may, as Macaulay puts it in his essay on Byron, wake up only once in seven years, to make an example of the least guilty, and go to sleep again for another seven years. Its justice may be long in coming, and may err, when it comes, on the side of severity. But that the moral sense is there—a terror and a night mare to all would be offenders—cannot be doubted while the social ‘awards’ to the ‘uncrowned king of Ireland’ and ‘a rising hope of the English Liberal Party’ are yet fresh in our memory. And where is the man to say the same of Hindu India? For where is there the instance of a Hindu of position and wealth who has been forced by society to pay penalty for his

immoralities, in the shape of social ostracism, or loss of public esteem? On the other hand, religious *gurus* and social leaders may be met with, any day, living glorified in sin. The ugly incident that once marred the deliberations of the Madras Congress, may happen again. For the thirty or forty that protested against it by leaving the Congress *pandal* on the occasion, there may not be found even half a dozen. And some of our Anti-nautch reformers themselves may appear on public platforms as champions of *injured immorality*, and challenge their countrymen to lay their hands on their hearts and say they have not sinned even in thought, and ask them to 'shut up' so long as they dare not do so.

Such are some of the evidence available for establishing my charge; others will easily occur to the minds of readers. Present-day Hindu Reform is a large subject; and in the compass of this article one can do no more than take a hurried review of it.

P. O. NAIDU.

ART. IX.—USAKA RAVUTHAN; A TRAVANCORE
MAGICIAN.

[TALES OF HIS POWERS.]

THODUPUSHAI Mandaipurath Usaka Ravuthan was a famous magician who died about thirty years ago. He was a native of Travancore. While a young man, he had a quarrel with his father, who turned him out of hearth and home. So the young prodigal found himself one morning in the midst of a solitary wilderness, where he could get nothing to eat and had to starve all day. Thus exhausted, he fell asleep under a tree, and awaking at dusk, found himself in the presence of a venerable old man with a long grey beard. The young man went close up to the Rishi (for such was the old man) and found him absorbed in religious contemplation. The Rishi at last opened his eyes, and chanting his *mantras*, asked him what he wanted. The youth related his sad story and concluded with a prayer. He begged that he may be granted some boon which would enable him to earn a livelihood. The Rishi thereupon handed the youth a *grandha* (or book of cadjan leaves) and advised him to study it. He studied it to such good purpose that he became one of the most learned and famous *mantravadies* (= *mantram* men) of his time.

Several authenticated stories of this magician's wonderful doings may be mentioned. He used to go about at nights in a palanquin with demons for bearers, whose eerie chant could be heard, but whose bodily presence was beyond the reach of mortal eye. Here are two genuine stories of his magical skill and power.

A Nair lady had several children, all of whom died in their infancy. Having heard of his great fame, she sought the magician's aid, inviting him down to her place. The Ravuthan asked for a mud-pot, a fowl, some rice and pepper; and was at once furnished with these things. The fowl, rice and pepper he put into the mud-pot, closed it, and had it buried under the cot on which the woman slept. A portion of this rice and pepper was given to the lady and she was ordered to eat some of it every morning. She, in due course, gave birth to a daughter who is now living!

Nair women, in their teens, as a rule, wear a *thakitu* or charm, as a protection against evil spirits. The Ravuthan was requested to prepare one for a Nair lady, the mother of a

NOTE.—Ravuthans are a class of Tamil Muhamadans settled on the West Coast.

friend of mine. Placing a small sheet of copper and an ordinary iron style in a wooden box, he closed it. He held in his hands two tender cocoanuts, which he kept throwing up and down, catching each, as often as it fell, in either hand. Presently a voice was heard inside the box like the winding of a clock. When the voice was heard a second time, the magician said "jal thee" (=be quick). After a few minutes, a sound was heard as of the style falling. He now opened the box and found the copper sheet inscribed with magical figures and characters as if done by a *mantravadi*. The magician then handed over the *thakitu* to the lady, who wears it round her neck to this day. The magician now asked the husband of the lady what he would like to have inside each of the young cocoanuts he held in his hands. "Honey in one and boiled milk in the other," said the gentleman, and accordingly the cocoanuts on being broken open, were found, to his astonishment, to contain boiled milk and honey as desired! As a further test, a quantity of milk on being leavened with buttermilk was found to yield excellent curds the next morning.

Usaka Ravuthan was a successful worker in the art and amassed an immense fortune. His family even now owns elephants. His daughter's son, now living, is a bit of a magician himself. His principal vocation is to make dumb people speak. This he does by means of a wand, once owned by his famous grandfather.

Mr. Bourdillon, Conservator of Forests, Travancore, will be able to substantiate the above particulars and possibly adduce more detailed information and local colouring, which, to the sceptical in such matters, must prove convincing. The late Conservator, Mr. C. W. Vernede, knew the magician personally, as did Mr. C. P. Raman Pillai, late Assistant Conservator. These two gentlemen came to know the Ravuthan, as his family pursued the profession of timber merchants originally. I am indebted to a friend of mine for the above information. My friend being a son of the Assistant Conservator aforesaid, is in a position to vouch for the truth and accuracy of the incidents herein recorded. The Assistant Conservator was then in charge of the Malayatur Forest Range, and the Ravuthan magician, when turned adrift by his father, sought refuge in one of the hills constituting the Range, where he met the Rishi.

U. B. NAIR.

ART. X.—OUR INSECT PESTS.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.—The subject of insect pests is one of the most important that can engage the attention of those who wish to benefit the agriculture of the country. These pests attack every kind of growth, leaf, fruit and flower, root, trunk, branch, and bark, and often destroy a whole crop, or orchard, or country side, as also individual trees or plants.

MANY KINDS OF PESTS.—There are a great many kinds of these pests, from the well-known locust, which destroys by the square mile, and the large borer-beetle, which penetrates into the grandest trees, down to imperceptible mites which congregate on leaves in visible discolorations, and worms and other insects which, unseen from without, find a lodgment in the roots.

THE FIELD NOT THOROUGHLY EXPLORED.—The subject, as stated, is a very large and varied one. It is also, as yet, not thoroughly explored. Only of late, by the help of the microscope and patient examination and observation, has it been receiving that attention that its importance deserves, and anything been scientifically and accurately formulated about them. Indeed, many kinds have not yet been even named, and probably some may yet be awaiting discovery. The magnitude of the task, as well as the difficulty, therefore, that is set before us here, cannot be exaggerated. What we here furnish must be understood as only a contribution to a subject which requires special abilities, qualifications, observation, and examination for years, to do justice to it. Our own personal experience of these pests is helped herein by such notes as we have kept of them of lectures and papers by eminent investigators.

CAUSES OF THESE PESTS.—These are many and numerous. Some few are imported by chance. They may come on a dry leaf, a plant, or in a seed. Others grow spontaneously with peculiar plants and cultivations. The production or development of others seems to be favoured by peculiar meteorological conditions, and even by excessive damp. Others by general neglect and uncleanness. Imagine fruit trees being set along filthy drains as is sometimes done! Others accompany rank grass and vegetation. Others find life from rotting wood and stalks. Others by dead roots, or from cavities being left near roots. Others even by peculiarities of soil. Others by too rich manures or over-manuring.

THEIR VARIETY.—Some, therefore, attack a root, and either

destroy the tree or plant, or render it infertile. Some attack the bark, and destroy it by blights and fungus-like growths. Some bore into the trunk and effect lodgments in the interior, ruining the due growth of the tree as well as spoiling the wood. Some get on to leaves and shoots, and either eat them or ruin them, and thus affect the growth of the tree or plant. Some get about the bloom and lay eggs inside the growing fruit, ruining the whole crop. Some, finally, eat into the seed or grain or ripened fruit.

ORDER OF VIEWING THEM.—We may, therefore, first, view them generally in this order; and afterwards take some of the more notable ones specifically and in detail.

GENERALLY.—1. Such as attack the roots. These are generally of three kinds: (a) small termites or ants which often eat up the bark of the roots, and laying their eggs along them, destroy them. When these are suspected, the whole place should be dug up and cleaned out thoroughly. (b) Small, active beetles, loving dead and dry roots. These are found generally in numbers, and should also be attended to. (c) The large borer beetle penetrating inside the root from the surface of the ground. The presence of the two first (a) and (b) may be suspected, but not seen from without, being under ground; the last (c) shows some evidence on the soil near or the exposed surface of roots. 2. Such as get on to the bark. These may be noticed from discolorations and fungus-like growths, which should be carefully brushed or scraped off the surface with the least possible injury to the true bark, or washed with washes, being sometimes also plastered over with clay or lime. 3. The holes of the larger insects and beetles that bore into the bark are easily perceptible to the naked eye, and have to be dealt with as when they get into the root. 4. Those which get on to the leaves, and shoots, and bloom, have to be sprayed with appropriated solutions. This in all except the case of locust. For locusts many remedies have been proposed, but the old-world and old fashioned plan of collecting them by sweeping them into heaps in a hole, and covering them there, is, as yet, probably the most effective. 5. Those which have already deposited their eggs inside fruit cannot be dealt with. 6. Nor such as have already attacked ripened or stacked grain or fruit. In regard to granaries, the most scrupulous care is needed in regard to cleanliness and continual inspection.

THE SEVERAL SELECTED PESTS.—They are (1). The American blight of Europe and the United States (*Schizoncurea lanigera*), with reference to apples, etc. (2) The maize borer, which applies to sugar-cane as well as maize. (3) The *noctues* moths, known in the United States as “cut worms,” a large

family that feed off most young and wet grasses, oats, young coffee plants, poppy and other flower plants. (4) The poplar borer, that riddles the poplar in Europe, and other trees elsewhere. (5) The grain moth (*gelechia cerealella*) of Southern Europe and the United States, also called the *Anjoumois moth*, destructive to stored wheat, barley, maize, and other grain. (6) The palm weevil, and the rhinoceros beetle—both attacking palm and other trees. (7) The boll worm (*heliethis armigera*), affecting cotton, hemp and poppy. (8) The "red spider" or mite, allied to the "rust-mite" of Florida, affecting the tea plant, and orange trees. (9) The "tea bug," or "mosquito blight" (*Helopeltis theivora*), affecting also the tea plant. (10) The "green fly," of the tea plant. (11) White ants—general. (12) Scale-insects, a large family, attacking tea, orange, and coffee plantations.

A few words on each of these will, we believe, be quite sufficient for the purpose of this paper.

1. The *American blight*, so-called, of Europe and the United States (*Schizoneura lanigera*), which affects the apple wherever it grows. It is probably also—from the gall-like growth characteristic of this insect—to be found on other trees as well. It is a very minute insect, and the gall-like growth, both on branches and roots, arises from the irritation set up by the insect in feeding upon the juice of the tree. A fluff-like secretion serves to protect the insects themselves. From the researches of Lichtenstein it has been found that winged individuals beget in the autumn the wingless male and female, which take no nourishment, but only produce the winter egg, one each, then dying. The winter egg lies through the winter on the bark, and hatches in the spring into a little wingless insect, which sticks its proboscis into the bark, and begins feeding on the juice. It grows rapidly, and after moulting several times, lays a number of eggs, each of which develops into a little wingless creature like the mother. This second generation have exactly the same habits as their mother, and soon lay a number of eggs. This process goes on all through the warmer portion of the year, innumerable multitudes of the little wingless females being thus produced, so that a tree once attacked is rapidly infested. Wherever they settle they raise the characteristic galls, and the whole tree becomes knotted and distorted and weakened to such an extent that it is quite incapable of bearing fruit. All through the summer the insect, not possessing wings, can only crawl slowly, and cannot spread to any great distance, or from one tree to another, unless carried by accidental agencies, as birds or high winds. With the first touch of autumn, however, the eggs of the little wingless females produce winged-females which fly from tree to

tree, and thus carry infection to considerable distances. They then settle down and produce the little wingless males and females, by which the winter eggs are produced. Such is the natural history of this insect.

In regard to the remedy for it, spraying and washing affected trees with kerosene emulsion and caustic washes have been found only to a certain extent successful. When properly applied these washes undoubtedly kill the insect wherever they touch it, though the difficulty in getting at the roots of the crevices between the branches is so great that it is best, when once a tree is affected, to cut it down and burn it, to prevent its becoming a centre of infection. As the insect is able to fly only for a short time in the year, much may be done by planting lines of trees to serve as wind-breaks, and to prevent the blight from being carried from one orchard to another. A sharp look-out may also be kept in the spring, and any small cotomis that may have arisen from the offspring of winged individuals, that have been blown away from affected orchards in the preceding autumn, destroyed with kerosene oil emulsion or lye washes.

2. The maize-borer, which attacks sugar-cane as well. The importance of the damage this insect, which chiefly occurs in dry seasons, can hardly be exaggerated. It too, is found all over the world, from the United States to India and Africa. Maize and millet, sugarcane and sorghum crops are alike liable to it. In the case of sorghum it sets up a morbid condition which is said to render it poisonous to cattle—a fact to be noted. It damages the stalks by drilling holes in them, the result being that moisture finds its way into the stalk and sets up putrefaction which, in the case of both sugarcane and sorghum, is of a particularly offensive nature. The moth lays its eggs at the base of the leaf sheaths, and the larvæ tunnel into the stalks where the chrysalids are also found. Several generations are gone through in the warmer months of the year, and the insect passes the cold weather in the caterpillar stage in a dormant condition in its burrows in the stalk. Old cane stalks are the most fruitful source of the spreading of the pests, and anything that tends to keep the old stalks away from the growing crop must likewise tend to reduce the evil.

Numerous remedies have been tried, but the only measure universally recommended is that of keeping the fields clear of the old stalks and cane trash in which the insect would otherwise find shelter. Fortunately, these moths have a parasite which often effectually destroys them. In vigorous plants the insect gets suffocated by the juice which accumulates in its burrow, and healthy plants not only recover much more rapidly when they have been attacked than unhealthy ones, but

are actually much less liable to be attacked in the first instance. This points to the utility of irrigation for fields that are attacked. It is only when the flow of juice is not very vigorous that the insect survives. It is a fact that in fields which are kept clean and are well cultivated, the insect does much less damage than in fields which are cultivated in a slovenly manner. This feature is of very wide application in connection with boring insects of all kinds, and the borers are a very numerous family.

3. The noctues moths, the caterpillars of which are known in the United States—where these insect-pests have been most investigated—as “cut worms.” These are also a very numerous family, some attacking one plant and some another—grass, hay, oats, tender coffee plants, very young vegetables, and even flower plants—in short, everything very young and tender. Fifteen thousand young coffee-plants have been destroyed on a single estate, notwithstanding that tens of thousands of the caterpillars were picked off by hand.

The mother moth, after meeting with a mate, lays her eggs on plants, and the young caterpillars born from these eggs descend into the ground, burrowing for themselves holes where they live until they arrive at their full growth. They then moult their skins and become cocoon chrysalids. The chrysalid lies in the ground until the moth is ready to emerge. When the moth is out it commences starting a family of its own. The whole life of the insect occupies only a few weeks, so that several generations are gone through in the course of the year. Rank grass is very apt to breed them.

The only effective remedy—besides the partial one of picking off by hand—is, after finding out the plants or plot affected, to irrigate, as the caterpillar cannot burrow into the ground in water, and to keep the plot free of grasses. Irrigation also brings the caterpillars out to the surface, and birds are extremely partial to them.

4. The poplar-borer. There are several distinct members of this tribe, some affecting Europe and others other parts of the world. The caterpillar chiefly chooses young trees for its attack, and kills a very large proportion of them down to the ground. The life-history of the insect, so far as traced supplies the following regarding it. The eggs are laid in the bark by the mother-moth, soon after she emerges in the autumn from the chrysalis. Young caterpillars hatch out from these eggs and tunnel into the wood, where they remain steadily feeding and growing throughout the whole of the following spring and summer. Towards its close they make a nest for themselves near the opening of the burrow, and then shuffle off their larval skins and transform into chrysalids, so that

when the moth emerges, she has only to push through the thin partition of chips which lie between her and freedom. The colours of the moth are brilliant yellow and brown, and this, in combination with her transparent wings, make her look almost exactly like a big wasp, which saves her from being meddled with by both boys and birds.

For a remedy nothing can be suggested; but it may be noted that anything that tends to check the healthy flow of sap in the tree, and especially any mechanical injury to the stem, must tend to render the tree suitable as a residence for the caterpillar.

5. The grain-moth (*gelechia cerealella*), also called the *Anjoumois moth*, owing to its having first attracted attention in the French province of Anjou about a century ago. This is specially destructive of grain food in granaries, and deserves as much attention as any other. It attacks stored wheat, barley, maize, and other grain. According to the observation of European and American entomologists, the first egg of the year is generally laid in grain standing in the fields. It is laid on the ears, and the larvæ tunnel into the grain. The second and subsequent generations are spent in granaries, the normal number of generations being two, though further generations occur under favourable conditions. The caterpillar tunnels into a single grain, and, as in the case of the wheat weevil, it remains invisible until just before it transforms into a chrysalis. It then cuts a small round valve-like door which is pushed open by the emerging moth after it has worked its way out through the slight silken cocoon in which the chrysalis is wrapped. The insect passes the winter in the caterpillar stage inside grain stored in granaries.

For the remedy, a temperature of 104° Fahr., continued for two days, is sufficient to destroy the insect.

6. The palm-weevil (*rhynchophorus ferrugineus*), and the rhinoceros beetle. These beetles—the latter of which is well-known—fly at night, and deposit their eggs at the base of leaf-stalks, any mechanical injury, and especially holes made by the latter beetle in the stalks, being taken advantage of by the former. The larvæ tunnel into the heart of trees, and the chrysalids are formed in cocoons made of fibre in the burrow. When badly attacked, trees die.

The only measures that have been tried in regard to these pests are to collect them by hand, and fill up the holes with liquid tar.

7. The boll-worm (*heliethis armigera*) which attacks the bolls of the cotton plant, and several other plants of industrial and commercial significance, such as the hemp, and the seed-capsules of the poppy; besides feeding off any succulent seeds

or shoots that it comes across. The habits of the insect vary to a certain extent with its locality and its feed. In the United States in the cotton fields, the chrysalis is formed in the ground, while in Indian poppy fields this stage is passed inside the seed-capsules of the poppy. It is pretty certain that the caterpillars everywhere pass the whole of their lives upon the plants, and several generations are gone through in the course of a year. It does a great deal of damage everywhere.

As yet the only remedy that has been tried is to collect the caterpillars by hand.

8. The "red-spider," or mite, allied to the "rust-mite" of Florida, attacking the tea plant and orange-trees. For the former, this mite is most destructive in the early part of the season, and increases at such a rate, if there is a drought—it is almost always found in the dry weather on tea bushes under a fine web which it spins on the old leaves—that a tea-garden appears of a dull brick-red colour, even when viewed from a distance. As soon as the heavy rains set in it disappears from the eye, but considerable numbers must be lying dormant as they quickly reappear if there is a break in the rains accompanied with hot sun. The damage which this mite does is by puncturing the leaves, and sucking up their juice, thus causing them to dry up and wither. It lives in societies on the upper surface of the full-grown leaves beneath an exceedingly delicate web which it spins for itself as a shelter. This web, ordinarily invisible to the naked eye, is often seen when the dew is deposited on it in minute globules which, when bathed in the sun, give the leaves an appearance of being sprinkled over with diamond dust. The mites lay their eggs in hollows usually close to the ribs of the leaves. The eggs are red like the mite itself. The young arachnids leave the egg as six-footed larvæ, and attain to the adult condition by a change of skin usually made on the same leaf as that on which they emerged from the egg. The shells of the hatched eggs remain glued to the leaf for some time as microscopically small objects resembling porcelain saucers. The male differs from the female both in size and form. The former is the smaller, and resembles a plover's egg, being broadly rounded at the anterior end and pointed posteriorly; while the latter resembles an egg semi-circular in outline and nearly equal at both ends.

In regard to a remedy, in the matter of oranges, attacked in Florida, the rust-mite has, to a great extent, been successfully kept under by spraying the bushes with washes made of soapy water, in which has been mixed some finely-powdered sulphur. This is what is recommended in the United States and England. A force-pump, fitted with a nozzle to give a finely-

divided spray, should be used. Compounds of soft soap and sulphur can be purchased in England ready made, so as to require the addition only of water. In India the plan has been adopted with success of simply first splashing the bushes with water, and then dusting powdered sulphur over them from bags made of loose woven cloth. The sulphur adheres fairly well, and the quantity required for an acre is about two hundred weight. This same application is also useful against the next pest, which is, perhaps, an even worse enemy to the tea-plant than "red spider."

9. The "tea-bug" or "mosquito blight" (*hélipeltis theivora*) which gets the latter designation from its resemblance to the ordinary mosquito, although, there is no relationship between them. It is even more destructive than the former pest, the "red spider." It punctures the leaves and absorbs the juices, leaving nothing but the upper and lower epidermis sticking together. After a time the leaf appears covered over with brown spots, which, however, soon change to black. The effect of this is to retard the growth of the plant, and although it makes a vigorous fight against the enemy, it slowly succumbs to the attack. This pest makes its appearance early in the rains, and gradually increases in numbers till the autumn, when it is in full force. It has a remarkable upright horn, and belongs to the Cimicidæous family (*capsidæ*), and is closely allied to a species which sucks chrysanthemum buds and greatly damages the blooms. There are eleven different species of this insect in various parts of the world.

The only chance of checking it seems to be to ascertain the place of deposition and destruction of the eggs if possible. Another plan is to burn green weeds to windwards of the plants. Dr. Watt, the special agricultural entomologist to the Government of India, asserts great virtues to the *Adhatoda Vatica*, a native plant of Assam, as an insecticide in reference to this pest, as well as other mites that attack the tea plant, besides being of manureal value. It stupefies the "tea-bug," while it kills "red-spider," as also most of the minute insect pests. The infusion is used; and the plants, after one or two applications, become bright green in colour, and give indications of flushing.

10. The "green fly" of the tea plant. This attacks the young shoots and prevents their opening out and development, whereby the out-turn is considerably diminished. On the other hand, however, it is to be noted that this retarded growth undoubtedly improves the quality of the yield, as the tea made from such leaf is always prettier in appearance and more flavoured in cup, and usually realises extraordinarily high prices. The "green fly," thus, may be regarded as a pest or it may not.

11. **White ants.** These attack plants in general, especially when there is dead wood. They are too well known to need any detailed mention. Various preparations containing arsenic are supposed to be effectual in destroying ; to which we would here add, that wherever there is a large colony, and no preparations are at hand, the queen ant, which alone lays the eggs and keeps the colony together, and which is known from its immense size, should be dug out and destroyed.

12. **The Scale Insect**—a very large family, attacking tea, orange, and coffee plantations. Indeed, this family is notorious as one of the most dreaded and destructive of all the known enemies of plant life. Since 1868, when they first began to attract attention in Australia, they have travelled to South Africa, and finally appeared in California! As soon as they establish themselves in a new district, they proceed to spread in all directions. In Cape Colony and California the principal sufferer was the orange tree, and so great was the damage done, that many owners of orange groves were ruined. In Ceylon the scale insect has almost completely ruined the coffee plantations which formerly covered the island before tea was introduced there. But it has also begun to attack the tea plant in some parts of the world. At the first appearance of this pest, remedial measures should at once be adopted to stamp it out. Its effect on the tea-plant is somewhat similar to that caused by the "tea-bug," but more marked, as the scale insect appears to absorb the juices of the plant through the stem, and the bush immediately begins to sicken, and would soon die down unless prompt measures were taken. There is not much to describe about the actual insect, as it has not yet been accurately observed in a free state. When a plant is attacked it soon becomes covered with little brown scales about one eighth of an inch in diameter, which adhere closely to the stem of the plant, but can be easily removed by inserting the blade of a pen-knife under them. Under the microscope these appear to be cases only, as there is no structure apparent. In several a small puncture may be detected. The insect appears to be most active in bright weather, and almost disappears in the rains. Some specimens have the scale soft and pulpy, and covered on the inside by a thick coating of soft white waxy-looking substance, and may prove to be the female.

The most effective remedy is the kerosene emulsion, which has been used with very good results in the United States and Ceylon against the form of scale-insect attacking the orange tree in the former and coffee in the latter country.

We have, thus, viewed most of the insect pests which apply to, and affect our principal growths and produce—maize,

oats, grass, apples, tea, sugarcane, cotton, oranges, coffee, and timber. Even the locust will be found referred to, though not included in the above enumeration. Complaints are made of coffee plantations ruined, and other crops attacked; and there are few with the requisite knowledge to indicate what is the matter with them; for be it noted, a plantation may come to grief from merely some peculiarity of the soil or even of the subsoil. We trust, however, that the above notes will help many to identify their enemies. At the same time, we have, where possible, indicated the remedies of the pests, which may also prove of help. In any large plantation or cultivation, however,—even in the first planning of it,—the presence and help of a scientific expert, one who knows soils as well as crops and manures, *with these pests*, is very necessary. We may add, however, that the whole subject is a very large, and a very important, one for the well-being of the country; and in the matter of these agricultural pests, requires special examination and treatment by a practised entomologist, who must necessarily be a Government officer.

A. M. CAMERON.

NOTE.—A useful little pamphlet has been issued by Professor A. Lehmann, Ph. D., Agricultural Chemist to the Department of Agriculture, Mysore State, on the best means of destroying insect pests which are injurious to growing crops. For crops not destined to be eaten within a month after harvesting Professor Lehmann suggests a sprinkling of them with a solution of Paris green (arsenic) in solution of about a quarter of an ounce to two gallons of water. He says that this is absolutely infallible, and is also cheap and non-injurious to the plant upon which it is used. It is sold in Bangalore at Rs. 1-4-0 per pound, and was imported at his own special request. When it is intended, on the other hand, to kill insects on plants which are to be eaten within a month after the application of the poison, it will be necessary to use such substances which kill the insects but are not harmful to man or the higher animals. These substances are very numerous; for example, an infusion of tobacco, hellebore, or pyrethrum powder, kerosene emulsions, soapsuds, finely powdered lime, etc. But for the leaf-eating insects these substances are all inferior to Paris green. But for plant lice, scale insects, and other insects, which suck the juices of plants, these latter poisons are the only ones which can be used with success. Professor Lehmann also suggests that upon any crop being attacked cultivators should at once obtain specimens of the pest, and also of the damaged crop, and forward them to the Agricultural Chemist for his advice and inspection.

A. M. C.

ART. XI.—INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

TECHNICAL education is such a vague term and in its widest and most accurate sense embraces such a vast field of educational labour that I limit the scope of my remarks to one phase of the question. It seems hopeless in a single paper to try to put at all a clear view of the problems presented by industrial education in India. In Madras one set of solutions may be found practicable, in Bombay another, whilst in Bengal a third may be better suited to deal with the local situation. I confine myself to the leading features of the problem as presented in Madras, and only so far as local conditions are similar to other parts of India. At the beginning of the twentieth century the industrial position of the Madras Presidency is one which it would be difficult to paint in roseate hues, yet it can hardly be considered very grave, and there are hopeful features about it which I am sanguine enough to think can be effectively developed if only a working plan can be devised and carried out on a scale adequate to the magnitude of the interests involved.

Just a hundred years ago the *Pax Britannica* was established, and through the whole period since then law and order have prevailed and life and property have been secured. Population has increased at a marvellously rapid rate, and long since the food supply would have proved insufficient but for the magnificent operations of the engineers both in the Irrigation and Railway branches of that profession. Millions of acres have been supplied with fertilizing water and thousands of miles of railway provide means of transport. Seasons are no better, perhaps worse than formerly, but famines have been successfully met and conquered. There is still much hardship, much privation, and many unavoidable deaths when the rains fail, but millions are not swept away and whole districts are not depopulated. Steady progress has been made in developing the agricultural resources of the country and the area under cultivation is ever expanding, but the area of the land is limited and the opening up of new tracts is now becoming an increasingly difficult matter. Adverse seasons affect wider areas and agricultural distress, if less intense than formerly, is more widely diffused and occurs at more frequent intervals. To some the future appears full of difficulty, but to others these difficulties wear a rather benign aspect as carrying with them their own solution. They will force us to a more energetic course of action which will result in the more extensive application of improved methods of cultivation, in

the more careful conservancy of water and a more perfect utilization of the resources of the soil. The ryot has managed to maintain his position practising methods which are the result of the accumulated experience of a hundred generations,—valuable experience it is true, but of very limited range and it requires no great amount of optimism to expect that if modern science and modern engineering skill are intelligently brought to his assistance, an improved condition of things will result which will indefinitely postpone the evil day.

The better education of the agricultural classes is a primary necessity if they are to be put into a position to avail themselves of improvements, and the zamindars and big landholders must be taught to realize that their wealth and power and influence must be much more extensively devoted to the service of the people around them. The average ryot works on too small a scale and lacks the capital necessary for experiments and improvements, and it is to the wealthy classes, whose craving for the acquisition of land is well known, that we must look for pioneers in progress. Agriculture is the occupation of the great mass of the people, and is of such vast importance that it is entitled to be considered by itself when industrial matters are discussed. I have only alluded to it here because the main lines of advance are likely to be such as can only be made when the ryot can reckon on being able to secure the assistance of artisans and artificers of a class that are now only to be found in large towns.

There are few who would dispute the statement that during the nineteenth century the condition of the agricultural population had, on the whole, materially improved, and that it was mainly due to enlightened expenditure on public works of all kinds, but chiefly on roads, railways and irrigation works. These increased facilities for communication and transport internally combined with a similar improvement in the methods of inter-oceanic traffic which have so much encouraged the export trade in raw materials have, however, given an equal impulse to the import trade in manufactured goods from the West, and these goods have gradually displaced indigenous manufactures and reduced the artisans of the country to a very impoverished condition. In Europe and America there has been a wonderful increase in manufacturing activity which is but faintly reflected in the cotton mills of Western India, the leather trade of Cawnpore, and the jute mills of Bengal. The bazaars of our towns and cities are full of imported wares, and year by year the tastes and needs of the people are becoming more and more Europeanized. The trade of the country is mainly in the hands of middlemen whose object is to export raw produce to the greatest extent

possible and pay for it by importing manufactured goods. Obviously there is no other way—imports and exports must balance one another or the difference be paid for in specie or represent service of some kind; either administrative charges or interest on borrowed money.

The establishment of modern industrial undertakings requires co-operation on an extensive scale; except in a comparatively feeble way the natives of India do not place much faith in such commercial combinations, and it is only when the conditions are exceptionally favourable that capital flows freely from the West to the East. Consequently merchants in this country have found it easier and more profitable to be middlemen than manufacturers, and the whole of their energy and ability has been devoted to ousting the products of the indigenous artisan driving him out of the trade that has been his livelihood and that of his family for many centuries. On a small scale it is true that something has been done to encourage the production of art wares for sale in Europe and America, but the business, though it bulks largely in the papers, is really an absolutely insignificant one and the attempts to make it expand have only resulted in a sad falling off in the quality of the works produced.

The cry has been raised that the old artistic industries of India have been killed, but I have recently had opportunities of observing that this is not so—that they are only dormant, and that they flourish in a most unmistakeable manner when circumstances are favourable to their development. The matter is very important, and it is perhaps desirable that I should adduce evidence in support of this statement. In the North-Western Provinces, at the instance of the Viceroy and with the support of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell, a good deal of money has been spent in restoring the magnificent remains of Mogul architecture. The work has been done in a most creditable manner, and the Lieutenant-Governor has quite recently remarked "It is noticeable that in all kinds of restorative work the Archæological Surveyor has tapped a vein of latent natural talent which has given excellent results. In fact the department has called into activity a school of artisans expert in this style of work. Many of them claim to be the descendants of the artificers who worked under the Emperors Akbar and Shahjahan."

In Mysore the new palace now in course of construction in the Fort finds employment for more than one thousand of the most skilled stone carvers, metal workers and wood carvers to be found in India, and the work turned out by them is equal to anything to be found in the country. Again, through the munificence of the Nattukottai Chettys, the old Sivaite temples of Southern India are undergoing restoration. Many lakhs of

rupees have been spent on the work which is being carried out in the old mediæval manner, and in all that has been done there are no signs of the deterioration so greatly deplored by those whose acquaintance with Indian art and art-workers is confined to curios in dealer's shops and ladies' drawing-rooms. In fact when good work is wanted it is always forthcoming, but unfortunately the demand for it is slight and fluctuating. The old native patrons have disappeared and any revival of the old art industries resolves itself almost entirely into a question of finding new patrons. There is reason to believe that it would not be difficult to divert some small portion of the golden showers, under which art flourishes in the west, to revivify and stimulate into renewed activity the neglected and impoverished workers of India.

Some months ago I submitted a scheme for the consideration of those gentlemen who control the funds that have been raised to commemorate the Jubilee, and the Memory of Her late Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress, but I have not heard that the very practical question of what they are going to do with the money has yet come before them. I hope presently to show that, with the very limited resources at their disposal, they cannot hope to launch with success any very grand project for developing technical education in this Presidency; but I think, and so do several other people whose opinion is more than ordinarily valuable, that the creation of an intermediate agency between the art workers and those who desire to possess their works and are willing to pay for them, would be an extremely useful and very practical way of assisting an interesting section of the community, whose supposed extinction, or at any rate hopeless decadence, has been somewhat prematurely mourned.

The persistence of hereditary skill through long periods adverse to its display is an interesting psychological phenomena and a factor which, I think, is of great importance in the general question of industrial education which we are now discussing. Assuming its existence, the rational procedure seems to be to afford as much encouragement as possible to its growth. If we are to have Schools of Art and of Art Industries, let them be placed where the hereditary craftsmen congregate, where the talents of the more gifted are utilized to instruct the pupils, and where every opportunity is given for latent sparks of genius to be fanned into flame. I would not absolutely restrict them to caste men, but I would not specially encourage the admission of outsiders as my experience, so far as it goes, is not favourable to the utility of giving or attempting to give an artistic training to every one who, from some accidental cause or other, finds it convenient to become

a student of a School of Arts. Such an institution should have for its object the production of works of art, and that it may not be a burden on the community and that it may go on producing indefinitely; it is absolutely essential that it should be run on intelligent business lines. I do not think it is necessary to go to Europe for art instructors—South Kensington will do India very little good and may do much harm. The old art was very beautiful, because it was of spontaneous growth—inevitably it must undergo change through the contact of West with East, but let the influence be gently and insensibly exercised. The result may be inharmonious and grotesque for a time, but sooner or later the natural genius will be produced who will found a school of art expressing naturally and simply the ideals of the people from whom he has sprung. Art can only really flourish when it meets with local recognition, and though, I think, it is quite possible to work up a not inconsiderable foreign demand for the products of Indian Art industries, yet it will be an unsatisfactory condition of things so long as it rests on such a basis. What is wanted more than anything is to educate our wealthy classes to a true appreciation of the worth of the artistic productions of their fellow countrymen—to an abhorrence of French mirrors, masical boxes, glass chandeliers and gilt gimcracks. We ought to have a permanent exhibition of native art industries in suitable surroundings, and it should be a place which should attract, and attracting, educate those people in this Presidency who are fortunate enough to be able to indulge in luxuries, but who at present are filled with childish admiration for what is bright and glittering.

The example that has been set in Mysore is an excellent one, and it is to be hoped that when the work is finished there, the art-workers and artizans may find others wanting their services. Our educational system is sadly deficient in the way in which it completely and entirely ignores the influence of art and artistic surroundings, and I venture to suggest to the Victoria Jubilee and Memorial Committee that it is within their power to do not a little to remedy this evil if they will apply their funds to rendering better known the latent artistic skill which yet exists and which lies dormant simply for want of opportunity. It is ideas such as these that we are trying to give practical expression to in the School of Arts in Madras, and I am glad of the opportunity of publicly explaining them because progress is necessarily very slow and because to the casual visitor the art work that is being done there is somewhat obscured by the prominence of certain purely industrial experiments which have been going on for some years past.

I have already briefly alluded to the way in which during

the past century the indigenous industries of the country have been crushed by the competition of imports, and I must now consider how far by means of State institutions steps can be taken to remedy the existing state of things. The evils are fully recognised, and for the past fifteen years a cry has arisen, constantly increasing in volume and intensity, for a State-aided system of Technical education to remedy them. In the words of Lord Curzon's address to the Educational Conference at Simla : " Here in India there seems to be a general idea that in Technical education will be found the regeneration of the country. Technical education is to resuscitate our native industries, to find for them new markets, and to recover old, to relieve agriculture, to develop the latent resources of the soil, to reduce the rush of our youths to literary courses and pursuits, to solve the economic problem and generally to revive a Saturnian age. The imagination has been struck by the alleged triumphs of Germany, and by the unquestionable enterprise of the youth of Japan." In Madras I think we must plead guilty to this indictment and to the fatuous folly, with fifteen years' experience barren of all result, of still thinking that it is possible some *deus en machina* may arise who will with the meagre funds that have been raised to commemorate the life and reign of the late Queen-Empress, devise a scheme of Technical education which will introduce an era of industrial prosperity. That nothing has been done is not surprising, but it is surprising to find how many people still think that it is the fault of Government and the State Department of Education that the industries of the Presidency are not flourishing, and that profitable employment has not been found for the congested population seeking a scanty and precarious livelihood on a barren soil.

What are our natural resources, out of what materials are industries to be created, have we neglected them, or is it the poverty of our surroundings which prevents us from doing anything? Into a detailed reply to these questions it is impossible for me to enter, but broadly speaking the plains of the South of India may be described as a poor country—fertile where it is artificially watered, but barren elsewhere. Its iron ores are its only mineral wealth and their tantalizing abundance is rendered of no avail by the absence of fuel. The climate enables existence to be dragged out on very little and the necessities of life are few and simple. Consequently labour is cheap and it is with this asset, and this only that we can hope to achieve anything. The artisans are intelligent, skilful, and when properly instructed capable in well-organized factories of holding their own in some directions against the utmost efforts of machine producers. Nearly all the raw materials

they use has to be imported and the protection that they get in competition with imports due to the five per cent. duty and the cost of freight is practically very small. The weavers form the bulk of the artizan community, but the workers in wood and metal are also very important. With the artizans of the building trades we need not concern ourselves as they suffer from no direct competition, and their prosperity is dependant entirely on the well-being of the whole community. These artizans belong to well-defined castes and their occupations are in the main hereditary, though the son of a blacksmith may become a carpenter or a coppersmith and *vice versa*, but the son of a weaver is generally a weaver. It is difficult, if not impossible, for outsiders to become apprentices to these trades in the bazaars, and what is in reality a healthy trades union has prevented internal competition in the country from reducing the artizans to the level of the poorest agricultural population.

Such attempts at industrial education as have been made, and in what follows I must specially exclude the School of Arts which, from its foundation fifty years ago has occupied an altogether exceptional position, have had for their main object the training of people belonging to the non-artizan classes. The earliest schools were started by missionaries for the training of their protégées and they have met with a certain limited measure of success, but the total number of Native Christian artizans outside the special establishments of the Basel Mission is extremely small and is not a factor of importance in the industrial position of the Presidency. Certain district boards and municipalities have devoted part of their funds to the advancement of industrial education, but the methods pursued have been extremely crude and the results incommensurate, except in one single case, with the expenditure that has been incurred. The usual procedure was as follows: A Headmaster or Superintendent was appointed without any regard to his fitness for the position, but chiefly because he was willing to accept the modest pay offered him—pupils were gathered in from the highways and byeways by the offer of attractive scholarships. Maistries were appointed to teach certain trades, usually carpentry, blacksmith's work and rattan work. Efforts were made to get orders for work and the European and official element of the population appealed to for support. So far as I am aware no attempt was ever made until recently to train the boys in these industrial schools on work other than that required by Europeans—the huge native markets around them were entirely neglected and the schools languished for want of an outlet for their productions. It would serve no useful purpose to unduly

dilate on the imperfections of these experiments in industrial education. They did not achieve the objects with which they were started, but they attracted attention to themselves and offered opportunities for experiment and enquiries, and in that way some good has come from them.

The industrial school of the future has yet to be evolved, but in Madras we have accepted, at any rate tentatively, certain general principles regarding their functions and the way they should be worked. The schools may be divided into three main classes: (1) Those established for the purpose of training boys as artizans who are not artizans by caste and who consequently have no opportunity of picking up a trade in any other way. The bulk of these schools will be of a sectarian character, such as the Anjuman Industrial School for Mahommedans or the various Mission schools. They will follow along established lines, and if efficiently conducted should supply a useful stimulus to the artizan classes by the introduction of an element of competition which should have a beneficial effect.

(2) Central industrial schools primarily intended for the benefit of the recognized industrial classes and working with the object of improving the industries of the country. These schools are never likely to be very numerous, and they will be of necessity mainly in the hands of European experts. The object is not so much to train boys, though that of course will be done, as to provide a supplementary course of instruction to the training which artizans now receive in their own homes. In them a large amount of experimental work will always be in progress, new ideas will be tested, new processes tried, new tools brought to the notice of the trades, and generally the endeavour will be made to foster private enterprise by help in any direction that may be feasible. There is no intention to gradually build them up into important manufacturing establishments, but they will be conducted on a scale just large enough to render them thoroughly efficient training institutions not only for workmen, but also for people who will afterwards become foremen and managers of works. With vested interests there is no intention that they should compete, and the policy to be adopted in their management will be to bring them into as intimate association as possible with existing undertakings. Of necessity they must have a business side for the disposal of their outturn and that will be conducted on rational business principles having in view that the end and object of the schools is not a dividend on the capital invested in them, but the promotion of the industrial prosperity of the country. The industrial side of the Madras School of Arts is at present the only representative of insti-

tution of this kind in India, and so far its operations have been mainly confined to the establishment of a school of metal work which conducted on the lines I have indicated above has met with sufficient success to justify us in thinking that a development of the same policy in regard to other industries may be of great assistance to the struggling artizan communities. Into the details of the work that has been done in the past, or that is contemplated in the future, we need hardly to enter, but those who are sufficiently interested in the matter may easily pursue their enquiries at the school where information can be freely obtained. It will suffice to say that, during this year, I hope to be able to develop the weaving section that has been recently started. From the experimental work that has been done and is now in progress, it is evident that there is great room for expert assistance, but whether we shall be able to materially improve the condition of the great weaving population of India is a matter which is influenced by so many and such very complex factors entirely beyond our control that it is only the very urgent necessity for doing something that has led us to contemplate attacking such a series of difficult problems.

(3) The third class of schools will be to a large extent offshoots of the second. It is not desirable that we should set up, as has hitherto been done, industrial schools to teach what is already taught in the bazaars, but there are many places where industrial knowledge and skill in certain trades is in a backward condition, and it is important that the artisans should everywhere be taught to work on the most advantageous lines and that the most should be made of their cheap labour. The Central industrial schools can only come into contact with a comparatively small number of artisans, and when by experience it is ascertained that in any branch of industry a feasible improvement has been effected, branch institutions are required to diffuse the knowledge among all who are affected thereby. A typical school of this class exists at Madura and is maintained by the district board in a very efficient condition. The superintendence and management of these schools should invariably be in native hands, and it will be one of the functions of the Central schools to train the science graduates of the University and the passed pupils of the Higher Technical colleges and schools, so that they may be able to undertake this work.

The cost of establishing these schools will be considerable, as they will have to be provided with workshops and equipped with good machinery to assist and supplement hand labour. The scale on which they will operate will be as small as is compatible with the attainment of the end for which they will

be started. Yet the turn over must in all cases be considerable and the working expenses fairly heavy as it will only be in exceptional cases and for short periods that the schools will be able even with the most skilful management to fully pay their way. The majority of these schools will only deal with one industry or with one associated group of industries, so that their whole resources may be concentrated on a definite object and not, as has hitherto been the cases, frittered away in attempting to deal with too much. There are many questions connected with the organization and management of these schools which have been the subject of much discussion, and it is not, I think, advisable that any hard and fast rules should be drawn up to deal with them. It is essential at any rate for the present that the schools should have as elastic a constitution as is consistent with proper control, and that each should be placed in a position, so that its superintendent may take full advantage of any favourable local circumstances that may arise. The most essential requisite is that they should be looked up to by the artizan community throughout the country as places where work is being visibly carried on for their benefit, and the measure of success which they achieve should be largely gauged by the voluntary support which they receive from the working classes. So long as the attendance of pupils can only be secured by the grant of stipends and scholarships, so long we may take it for granted that they are not supplying a recognized want in a way which is useful to those for whose benefit the institutions have been started. The artizans, however, are very poor, and it is obvious that they must earn sufficient to enable them to live, and the gradual abolition of scholarships should be accompanied by the introduction of a system of paying wages, which wages should represent the actual value of the labour expended. It is not young children so much as young workmen that the schools should attract and the instruction and practice in trade operations which the schools must supply should be such as to give the pupils valuable experience which will readily find a market.

The question as to the best means of disposing of the finished production of these schools is not such a serious one as is generally supposed since the main objection which has been raised—interference with private trade—will be easily avoided if the fundamental principles which have hitherto guided our work are strictly adhered to. The object of these schools is to create new industries, to improve old ones, to extend the range of industrial operations and indicate the possibilities of new markets. Importers of foreign manufactures may suffer, but it is to be hoped that the creation of an export

trade in hand manufactures may compensate them for any loss they may sustain, and it is certain that if the mercantile community can be brought to see the possibilities of export business and will proceed to develop them with the same energy and ability that has been displayed in their business operations in the past, there will be result an immense improvement in the industrial condition of the country.*

ALFRED CHATTERTON.

* [The above paper owes its birth to a local Conference, but at our request has been placed at our disposal for a wider circulation, which we give it as it treats of such an important subject affecting all India.—Ed., C. R.]

ART. XII.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT.

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLD SADAR AND SUPREME COURTS TOGETHER WITH NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES, BARRISTERS AND VAKILS.

(Continued from January 1902, No. 227.)

CHAPTER II.

The Supreme Court at Calcutta.

THE first authority for the introduction of English law in India, says Mr. Morley,* was granted by "The Merry Monarch," Charles, who, by a Royal Charter, dated the 3rd of April, 1661, gave to the Governor and Council of the several places belonging to the Company in the East Indies power "to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Council, or that should live under them, in all causes whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of the kingdom, and to execute judgment accordingly." By a subsequent charter granted by the same sovereign on the 9th of August, 1683, the Governor and Council were empowered to establish Courts of Judicature at such places as they might appoint, to consist "of a person learned in the civil laws, and two merchants who were to decide according to equity and good conscience, and according to the laws and customs of merchants." These provisions were continued in the charter granted by Charles's ill-fated brother, James, in 1686, and when in 1698 a new East India Company was formed, a similar power was given to it by the charter of the Blessed King, William of Orange,† granted in September of that year. The commercial rivalry, thus generated by the formation of the new Company, however, having proved injurious to the interests of both parties, the two Companies were amalgamated in 1702 under the appellation of the united Company,‡ the charter granted by King William in 1698 remaining as the foundation of the privilege thereof, under which the Court of Directors was constituted and the General Court of Proprietors was vested with the chief authority and control over the affairs of the Company.§ Nearly seven

* See his *Administration of Justice in British India*, p. 5, (1858) The authority may have been given in 1661, but it is a moot point whether English law was in reality introduced in that year. The popular view is, that it was not introduced until the year 1726, when the Mayor's Court was established.

† Statute 9 and 10 William and Mary, chap. 44.

‡ The United Company was afterwards called the East India Company (see 3 and 4 William IV, c. 85, s. 111).

§ This constitution remained unaltered until the Regulating Act of 1773 came into force, under which a Governor-General and Council were constituted in India and a Board of Control established in England.

years were allowed for mutual arrangements and the final adjustment of the financial affairs of both Companies was made under an award of the Lord High Treasurer, Lord Godolphin, on the 29th of September* 1708. On the 25th of March following was held the first General Court of the United Company in England.†

In the year 1726 the Court of Directors represented by petition to King George I—"That there was great want at Madras, Fort William, and Bombay, of a proper and competent power and authority for the more speedy and effectual administration of justice in civil cases, and for the trying and punishing of capital and other criminal offences and misdemeanours." This representation had its desired effect and, accordingly, the then existing Courts were superseded, and the United Company were empowered by Royal Charter,‡ granted on the 24th of September, 1726, to establish at each of the three settlements a Court, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, to be a Court of Record, and "to try, hear, and determine all civil suits, actions, and pleas between party and party," that should arise within the limits of each settlement and the factories subordinate thereto.§ From these Courts an appeal lay to the Governor and Council, constituted as they were a Government Court of Record, and thence to the King in Council, in causes involving sums above the amount of 1,000 *pagodas*.|| The same charter also constituted a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery at each settlement, consisting of the Governor and Council, for the trial of all offences, except high treason, committed within the towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, or within any of the factories subordinate thereto, or within ten miles of the same; and the Governors

* The surrender of the charters of the Governor and Company of Merchants in London trading to the East Indies was made on the 22nd of March, and accepted by Queen Anne on the 7th of May 1709.

† See Morley's *Administration*, p. 6, note.

‡ Passed in the 13th year of George I. This charter for the first time conferred a power of legislation on each of the Governors and Councils in the three Presidencies.

§ The charter also empowered the Courts to grant Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration to intestate estates. It further provided for the appointment of Sheriff for each of the three Presidency towns, and the precincts and districts and territories thereof and for any space within ten miles of the same, who was "to have full power and authority to execute and make return of all processes of the said Court and of any other Court erected by the Letters Patent within the districts aforesaid." A new Sheriff was to be elected annually on the 20th of November.

|| The *pagoda* is a Madras coin, the value of which is about eight shillings English money. The amount appealable to the Sovereign in Council has been altered, and fixed at the sum of 10,000 Company's rupees for all the Courts in India, by the order in Council, of the 10th of April 1838.

and Councils were constituted Justices of the Peace, and were authorised to hold Quarter Sessions. Under this charter all the common and statute law at that time extant in England was introduced into the Indian Presidencies; and it is in consequence of the doctrine of Calvin's case * which has been applied to the charter, that the inhabitants of the Presidencies have been both injured and benefited, by an exclusion, with some exception, from all the Parliamentary enactments passed since that period. Accordingly, the Indian Courts have refused to apply the English Statutes, which have been enacted since the granting of the charter of George I, and in which their extension to India is not specially declared.†

The town of Madras having surrendered in September 1746 to the French under Labourdonnais, the Mayor's Court ceased to exist. Its members were dispersed, and the corporation was considered to have dissolved. But the town having been restored to the English in 1749 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Directors of the United Company represented to the King in Council that "it would be a great encouragement to persons to come and settle at that place, if a proper and competent judicial authority were established there;" and further, that it had been found by experience that there were some defects in the charter of 1726. Under these circumstances King George II granted a new charter on the 8th of January 1753, re-establishing the Mayor's Courts at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta with some slight alterations. By this charter these Courts were limited in their civil jurisdiction to suits between persons, not natives, of the said several towns; and

* *Vide* 7 Term, Rep., p. 1.

† See Preface to Clarke's Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, Calcutta, 1829. Sir Edward Hyde East, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in a paper written about the year 1815, said: "It is proper to remind Government that notwithstanding the Act of the 13 George III, c. 63, and the King's charter of 1774, granted under it . . . the inhabitants of Calcutta have not the full advantage of the statute law of England to a later period than the thirteenth year of George I, unless expressly named. This has been the uniform construction of the Judges of the Supreme Court since its institution, and whether right or wrong originally, the Judges of the present day cannot depart from it without authority of Parliament.

"The period at which the *general* statute law stops in regard to this Presidency, is that of the constitution of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta; when those who established that constitution said upon the doctrine of Calvin's case that the British law was then first given as to a British colony, and that as a rule it could not be included in any subsequent statute unless specially named." The paper from which this passage is quoted was put in evidence by Sir Hyde East, on the 10th March 1830, before the Select-Committee of the House of Commons, which was then taking evidence on East Indian affairs in preparation for the Charter Act of 1838. *Vide Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. ii, pp. 30, 31.

suits between natives were directed to be determined among themselves, unless both parties should by consent submit the same to the determination of the Mayor's Court.*

The jurisdiction of the Government Courts in criminal cases was also limited to offences committed within the several towns and the factories or places subordinate thereto, omitting the words—"or within ten miles of the same"—contained in the previous charter. At the same time and by the same charter, Courts of Requests were established at Madras, Bombay, and Fort William, for the determination of suits, "where the debt, duty or matter in dispute shall not exceed five pagodas" in amount.†

Both the Mayor's Courts and the Courts of Requests were made subject to a control on the part of the Court of Directors, who were authorized by the Letters Patent to make "bye-laws, rules and ordinances for the good government and regulation of the several Courts of Judicature established in India." The chief alteration effected by the Letters Patent of 1783 was that the Courts which they established were limited in their civil jurisdiction to suits between persons who were not natives of the several towns to which the jurisdiction applied. Suits between natives were directed not to be entertained by the Mayor's Courts unless by consent of the parties.‡ The Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy, appointed on the 6th of May 1773, to enquire into the state of the East India Company, after a detailed description of the Country Courts of Judicature in Bengal, observes upon the constitution of the Mayor's Court, and says, "that although it is bound to judge, at least when Europeans are concerned, according to the laws of England, yet the Judges are not required to be, and in fact have never been, persons educated in the knowledge of those laws by which they must decide; and that the Judges were justly sensible of their own deficiency, and that they had therefore frequently applied to the Court of Directors to lay particular points respecting their jurisdiction before Coun-

* The Judges of these Courts were the Mayor and the Aldermen, three of whom might hold the Court. The Mayor and Aldermen were, in the first instance, appointed by name in the charter itself. The election of a new Mayor each year was made by the retiring Mayor and Aldermen, who were to choose two persons from among themselves, of whom one was appointed by the Governor-General or Governor in Council. Aldermen, in case of vacancies, were appointed by the Governor-General or Governor in Council.

The Mayor's Courts were also empowered to grant Probates of Wills and Administration to the effects of persons dying intestate.

† See Preface to Clarke's *Rules and Orders*; and Morley's *Administration*, pp. 7, 8. The Courts of Requests are the origin of the Courts of Small Causes now existing in the Presidency towns.

‡ See Tagore Law Lectures, 1872, p. 20.

sel, and to transmit the opinion of such Counsel to be the guide of their conduct" Upon this report the 13th George III, c. 63, better known as Lord North's Regulating Act, was passed. The Bill had met with considerable opposition on the part of the Company; but as the measure was almost a foregone conclusion, such opposition was vain and fruitless: it was passed by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons on the 10th of June, 1773, and on the 20th of June it passed the Lords House without any opposition at all, and received the Royal Assent on the following day. The 13th section of this Statute empowered His Majesty to establish a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, to consist of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges, being barristers of England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing, to be named and appointed from time to time by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, and to hold their offices during the pleasure of the Crown. The same section declared that the said Supreme Court should have full power and authority to exercise and perform all Civil, Criminal, Equity, Admiralty, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and to frame and establish such rules of practice and such rules for the process of the said Court, and to do all such other things as should be found necessary for the administration of justice, and the due execution of all or any of the powers which, by the said charter, should or might be granted or committed to the said Court; and also should be at all times a Court of Record and should be a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal Delivery, in and for the said town of Calcutta, and factory of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto. The Governor-General and Council and the Judges of the Supreme Courts were, by the 38th section of the same Act, authorized to act as Justices* of the Peace, and to hold Quarter Sessions.†

The Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal was accordingly established under the above Statute, by Royal Charter, dated the 26th of March 1774. The salary of the

* Charter of 1774, clause 4; see also the Code of Criminal Procedure (Act V of 1898), ss. 22, 23, 24, 25, 444, 445.

† See Morley's *Administration*, pp. 8, 9, so far as it has reference to the Judges. This provision, however, does not commend itself to persons who are well versed in such matters. Sir James Stephen observes: "The Judges of the Supreme Court, like the Judges of King's Bench in England, acted as Justices of the Peace for Calcutta under the Regulating Act. This arrangement was essentially bad, not only because it occupied the time of the Judges with matters which would have been better disposed of by others, but because the functions of a Committing Magistrate and a Judge are essentially different, and to a certain extent opposed to each other." *Nundo Coomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 81. Messrs. Hyde and Lemaistre as Magistrates had committed Nunda Coomar to the Sessions, and they, along

Chief Justice was fixed* at £8,000 per annum, and that of each of the Puisne Judges only £6,000 per annum.† The Chief Justice was to have rank and precedence next after the Governor-General, and the Puisnes (according to the priority of nomination) next after the Members of the Supreme Council. Sir Elijah Impey was constituted the first Chief Justice, and Robert Chambers, Esq., Stephen Cæsar Le Maistre, Esq., and John Hyde, Esq., the first Puisne Judges.

By the 13th clause of the charter, the Supreme Court was authorized to try and determine all actions, suits upon or concerning any trespasses or injuries of what value or kind soever, or debts, demands, or other interests or concerns of what nature or kind soever, or any rights, titles or claims to houses, lands, or other things, real or personal, within the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and to hold pleas, real, personal or mixed, against the United Company and the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta, and against any other of His Majesty's subjects, resident in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, or should have resided there, or should have debts, effects, or estates, real or personal, within the same and against the executors and administrators of such subjects, and against any other persons who should at the time of such action being brought, or at the time when such cause of action should have accrued, be or have been employed by, or be or have been directly or indirectly in the service of the said Company, or of the said Mayor and Aldermen, or of any other of the King's subjects, and against all other persons, inhabitants of India, residing in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, upon any contract or agreement in writing with any of the King's subjects, where the cause of action should exceed the sum of 500 current rupees, and when such inhabitants should have agreed in the said contract that, in case of dispute, the matter should be determined in the said Court. The same section limited the jurisdiction so given in

with the other Judges of the Supreme Court, also tried and punished him. By Act X of 1875, 13 Geo. III, c. 63, s. 38 (*which provides that the Governor-General in Council and the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature shall be Justices of the Peace*) is repealed to the extent of the words "and the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Courts of Judicature"; and by s. 152 of the said Act every Judge of a High Court is declared to be a Justice of the Peace throughout the whole of British India *virtute officii*. The whole of s. 38 has since been repealed by Act X of 1889. See Belchambers's *Rules and Orders*, p. 1 (1900).

* See 13 Geo. III, c. 63, s. 21.

† The Chief Justice received for his passage to India £1,500, and the Puisnes £1,000 each. The Chief after five years' service as such was entitled to a pension of £1,000 per annum, after seven years, £1,200, and after ten years, £2,000. The Puisnes after corresponding periods of service were entitled to a pension of £750, £1,000, and £1,500, respectively. *The London Jurist*, (1832), vol. iii, p. 162.

this wise and mode, *viz.*, that the said Court should not try any suit against any person who should never have been resident in any of the said Provinces, or against any person who should, at the time of action brought, be resident in Great Britain or Ireland, unless such suit or action against such person so then resident in Great Britain or Ireland should be commenced within two years after the cause of action arose, and the sum to be recovered should not be of greater value than 30,000 rupees. The mode prescribed for commencing and prosecuting suits in the Supreme Court was, by filing a bill containing the cause of action, or complaint, whereupon a precept was to be issued to the Sheriff* to summon the defendant who was to appear and plead, with power to the Court to give time after appearance, and to examine witnesses upon oath and to summon witnesses for that purpose, and also to compel witnesses to attend and give their evidence, as well as to punish for neglect, disobedience or contempt.† By the 18th clause of the charter, the Supreme Court was constituted a Court of Equity and was to administer justice according to the rules and proceedings in the Court of Chancery in England. The 19th clause constituted it a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery for the town of Calcutta and the factory of Fort William, and the factories subordinate thereto, with power to summon Grand Juries and Petit Juries, and to administer criminal justice as in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer in England, giving its jurisdiction over all offences committed in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, by any subject of His Majesty, or any person in the service of the United Company, or of any of the King's subjects. The charter then ordained that the Court of Requests‡ and the Court of Quarter Ses-

* Clause 19 of the charter provided for the appointment of a Sheriff for the town of Calcutta, who was authorized to execute all writs, summonses, rules, orders, warrants, commands and process "of the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and to receive and detain in prison such persons as shall be committed to him for that purpose by the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and by the Chief Justice and Justices, respectively." The appointment of Sheriff which used to be made annually, was in the hands of the Chief Justice; but the Deputy Sheriff was the Sheriff's own choice and making.

† Clause 15 relates to execution, arrest on mesne process, and to sequestration for non-appearance. And clause 16 relates to suits against the United Company.

‡ This Court, established as it was by the charter of 1753, was in its inception empowered to determine suits for sums not exceeding 5 pagodas, *i.e.*, twenty rupees. Afterwards, its jurisdiction was extended to suits for sums not exceeding eighty rupees; and ultimately to suits for sums not exceeding sicca rupees 400, by a proclamation of the Governor-General, dated the 29th of October 1779, issued under 39 and 40 George III, c. 79. By Act IX of 1850 the Court of Requests was abolished and the Calcutta Court of Small Causes established in its stead, with jurisdiction extending to suits for sums not exceeding Rs. 500. Again, by Act XXVI of 1864 the jurisdiction

sions* established by the charter of justice of the 26 George II, dated the 8th of January, 1753, and all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and other Magistrates in the aforesaid provinces should be subject to the order and control of the Supreme Court in the same manner as inferior Courts and Magistrates in England were subject to the order and control of the Court of King's Bench. By the 22nd clause the charter empowered the Supreme Court to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as the same was exercised in the diocese of London "so far as the circumstances and occasions of the said provinces and people shall admit or require," and to grant probates of Wills and Administrations to the estates of British subjects dying intestate within the said provinces. The 25th clause empowered the Courts to appoint guardians of infants and of insane persons, and curators of their estates without apparently any distinction as to nationality; and by the 26th clause the said Supreme Court was constituted a Court of Admiralty in and for the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with power to hear and determine all causes and matters, civil and maritime, and to have jurisdiction in crimes maritime, according to the course of Admiralty in England. An appeal lay, under clauses 30—33 from the decisions of the Supreme Court at Fort William to the King in Council. No appeal was to be allowed unless the petition was preferred within six months and the amount in dispute exceeded 1,000 pagodas. In every appeal, security was to be given by the appellant for the costs and for the due performance of the judgment or order in appeal. In criminal cases the Supreme Court was competent to allow or deny the appeal and to regulate the terms upon which it should be allowed.

The 36th clause made void the charter† of the Mayor's Court, so far as the Mayor's Court in Fort William was concerned. But as a matter of fact that Court did not altogether

of the Calcutta Small Cause Court was extended to suits for sums not exceeding Rs. 1,000, and with the consent of the parties to suits of a higher value. By Act XV of 1882 the jurisdiction is further extended to suits not exceeding Rs. 2,000, and may also by consent, be extended beyond that pecuniary limit. By Act I of 1895, known as the Amending Act, a defendant may obtain the removal to the High Court of a suit in which the value exceeds Rs. 1,000. For further particulars see Belchambers's Rules and Orders, pp. 10, 11.

* See charter 13 George I (appointing the President and Council of Fort William to act, as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and to hold Sessions of the Peace and of Oyer and Terminer); 13 George III, c. 63, s. 38 (appointing the Governor-General and Council Justices of the Peace, with power to hold Quarter Sessions); and 26 George III, c. 47, s. 22 (making subjects amenable to the Courts of General and Quarter Sessions).

† See 26 George II.

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cease on the establishment of the Supreme Court ; it was restricted to small merchantile cases.* The Mayor's Courts in Madras and Bombay continued to exist till the year 1798, when they were superseded by the Recorder's Courts, and of these latter Courts, the one at Madras was superseded by the Supreme Court in 1800, and the one at Bombay by a similar Court in 1823.

By the 34th clause the Governor-General and the Members of the Supreme Council were declared not subject to arrest or imprisonment in any suit or proceeding in the Supreme Court except in cases of treason or felony ; and the Court was also declared incompetent to try or determine any indictment, or any information against the Governor-General, or any Member of the Council, for any offence, except treason or felony, charged to have been committed in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.† The 39th and last clause of the charter contains the mandate requiring obedience to the Supreme Court. This command was directed to "all our Governors, Commanders, Magistrates, Officers, and Ministers, civil and military, and all our faithful and liege subjects whatsoever."

In order to understand the reason which occasioned the serious split between the Council and the Court, it is necessary to state along with the powers given to the Supreme Court by the Regulating Act what the powers were that were given by it to the Governor-General in Council. These powers were defined by section 7 in these words :—"The whole civil and military government of the said Presidency (*i.e.*, the Bengal Presidency) and also the ordering, management, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues of the kingdoms of Bengal, Behar and Orissa shall be and hereby are . . . vested in the said Governor-General and Council . . . in like manner to all intents and purposes whatever as the same now are or at any time heretofore might have been exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee of the said kingdoms." These words, it will be observed, are vague and indistinct in the extreme. They do not even hint at the origin or extent of the powers of the Council or of the Company. They say nothing of the Emperor of Delhi on the one hand, or of the King of England on the other. They confer no legislative powers on the Council which, however, in another clause ‡ of the Act, is authorised

* Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii, chap. 13.

† See 13 George III, c. 63, s. 17 ; and 21 George III, c. 70, s. 1, exempting the Governor-General and Council in Bengal from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in respect of acts done by them in their public capacity.

‡ See 13 Geo. III, ss. 36, 62

to make bye-laws for the town of Calcutta with the consent and approval of the Supreme Court.*

The provisions in the Regulating Act relating to the Supreme Court do not fare better. They, too, are as vague and indefinite in the essential parts as those which relate to the Council. They settle neither the local nor the personal limits of the jurisdiction of the Court outside of Calcutta, nor do they determine what law the Court is to administer. These defects, so far from being rectified by the charter, were to some extent intensified by it. Indeed, it is very remarkable that nothing is said in the charter as to the law to be administered in civil suits or criminal actions. The implication, no doubt, is that it was to be the law of England,—

"That codeless myriad of precedents,
That wilderness of single instances."

as Tennyson has very aptly and very beautifully described it. The provisions made in the charter as to the administration of criminal justice do not, in express words, say, but imply that the Court is to apply the criminal law of England "as nearly as circumstances permit" to all persons resident in the town of Calcutta and the factories subordinate thereto, and to all "British subjects," which term in practice was held to mean European British subjects, and their servants resident in Bengal, Behar and Orissa.†

Sir P. Courtenay Ilbert, sometime Law Member of the Legislative Council, in commenting upon the very unsatisfactory character of the provisions of the Regulating Act and of the charter of justice authorised by it, thus observes:—"The provisions of the Act of 1773 are obscure and defective as to the nature and extent of the authority exercisable by the Governor-General and his Council, as to the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and as to the relation between the Bengal Government and the Court. The ambiguities of the Act arose partly from the necessities of the case, partly from a deliberate avoidance of new and difficult questions on constitutional law. The situation created in Bengal by the grant of the Dewani in 1765, and recognised by the legislation of 1773, resembled what in the language of modern international law is called a protectorate".‡ Sir Courtenay goes on to state:—"The Regulating Act provided insufficient guidance as to the points on which both the Company and the Supreme Court were likely to go astray; and the charter by which it was supplemented did not go far to supply its deficiencies.

* *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 16.

† See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. i, pp. 16-20.

‡ *The Government of India*, p. 53.

The language of both instruments was vague and inaccurate. They left unsettled questions of the gravest importance. The Company was invested with supreme administrative and military authority. The Court was vested with supreme judicial authority, which of the two authorities was to be paramount? The Court was avowedly established for the purpose of controlling the actions of the Company's servants and preventing the exercise of oppression against the natives of the country. How far could it extend its controlling power without sapping the foundations of civil authority? The Members of the Supreme Council were personally exempt from the coercive jurisdiction of the Court. But how far could the Court question and determine the legality of their orders. Both the omissions from the Act and its express provisions were such as to afford room for unfortunate arguments and differences of opinion.* Not only was the Act silent as to the law which the Supreme Court was to administer, it was also not clear as to who the British subjects and the employes of the Company were. Nor was the question "as to the right of Supreme Court to try actions against the judicial officers of the Company for acts done in the execution of what they believed, or said they believed, to be their legal duty," free from doubt and difficulty. This question arose in the famous Patna cause, in which the Supreme Court gave judgment with heavy damages to a native plaintiff in an action against the officers of the Patna Provincial Court, acting in their judicial capacity.

When the state of affairs was in such a hurly-burly fashion, it is no wonder that fierce contentions arose between the Governor-General and Council on one side and the Judges of the Supreme Court on the other. However, as the two supreme heads in the country were fast friends, matters might, in all probability, have been easily settled; but neither the Governor-General was practically supreme in the Council, nor was the Chief Justice implicitly obeyed by his colleagues. In the

* *The Government of India*, pp. 55, 56. Mr. Herbert Cowell very pertinently observes: "The policy which shaped the Regulating Act was, no doubt, well intentioned, but it was rashly and ignorantly executed. None of the Parliaments of George III were remarkable for their wisdom; but it was reserved for the Parliament, which sat in 1773, by its Colonial Customs Duty Act and its Regulating Act, to throw the affairs of two hemispheres into confusion. It endeavoured to rule America on the principle of Parliamentary taxation and to control the Government of India by the operation of English Courts. The result was that British power in the West was subverted, and in the East was for a time seriously endangered. The anarchy which ensued, continued till the policy of the Regulating Act was reversed and Indian society assumed the form which it retained till the Company and the Mogul Empire vanished." Tagore *Law Lectures*, 1872, pp. 54, 55.

case of Hastings he had no end of troubles, especially from Francis and Clavering; and Impey, too, could not pull well with Hyde and Lemaistre. Clavering had the bluntness without the simplicity of a soldier, while Francis was the very impersonation of malice. Hyde was an honest man, but a great coxcomb, very proud and pompous. It seems that there was something wrong in his upper chamber. As for Lemaistre he was violent beyond measure, and was, therefore, the very reverse of what a judicial officer should be. Thus, everything tended to upset order and bring about confusion of the worst kind. Harmony was therefore not possible, though harmony was never more necessary; so war between the two parties was inevitable. All this had its birth and origin in the ominous Act which bore the proud name of Lord North. As Macaulay says, "The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers, the one judicial, the other political, and, with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The Judges took advantage of the indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the Presidency of Fort William." English law was enforced with all its nice technicalities, and the people's minds were filled with alarm. "A reign of terror," to quote the same eminent writer, "began, of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from the strange tribunal. It came from beyond 'the black water,' as the natives of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of Judges, not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds." Thus, alarm and dismay spread through the province, and the entire population, English and Native, with the single exception of those pests of society, the pettifoggers, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression of foreign lawyers. Even the members of Government found themselves in a fix. The Sadar Diwani Adalat was practically closed and its all-important business was almost at a standstill. The dissension between the Council and the Court really commenced with the trial and execution of Nanda Kumar who, for the part he had acted in the world of Indian politics, had received the proud title of Maharaja from the Emperor of Delhi. This man was one of the most notorious characters of the time. He

* Essay on Warren Hastings.

had played foully with many persons and was bold enough even to beard the Great Lion, His Excellency the Governor-General himself. At any rate Hastings entertained no good opinion of him, and would not have been displeased if he were put out of harm's way by hook or crook. In April 1775 Nunda Kumar was hauled up on a charge of felony, committed to the sessions, and thrown into the common gaol. The crime imputed to him was that so far back as the year 1770 he had forged a bond purporting to have been executed in his favour by one Bolaki Das, a well-known shroff or banker of Moorshedabad. The ostensible prosecutor was Mohan Prosad, Bolaki's agent, but the common belief was that Hastings was the real mover in the matter. The trial took place in due course and the accused was convicted and sentenced to undergo the extreme punishment of law. The prisoner was not respited, and to the terror and amazement of all sorts of people the sentence was ruthlessly executed on the 5th of August. The excitement among the populace was very great, and both the Governor-General and the Chief Justice were looked upon as the worst of murderers. But this was only the beginning of the reign of terror which was introduced through the folly and indiscretion of the authors of the Regulating Act. The famous Patna cause came next. In that case, which lasted from 1777 to 1779, the Supreme Court, as we have already stated, cast the officers of the Patna Provincial Court in heavy damages for acts done by them in their judicial capacity. This was followed by another of even greater importance, called the Cassijorah case, which brought matters to a crisis. The facts of this case were simple. One Cossinaut Baboo had lent a large sum of money to the Zemindar of Cassijorah, and had tried for considerable time to recover the money through the Board of Revenue at Calcutta. As this process did not succeed to his wish, Cossinaut sued the Zemindar in the Supreme Court, filing on the 19th August 1779, an affidavit which stated that the Zemindar was employed in the collection of the revenues. On the strength of this affidavit, the Zemindar, or Raja, as he was styled by courtesy, was required to find bail to the extent of three lakhs and a half. A writ was forthwith issued, but the Raja, on being timely informed of this, concealed himself in order to avoid the process much to the damage of the revenue which he ought to have been

* In a letter to Dupre, dated the 20th April 1772, Hastings thus wrote of Nund Coomar: "This man was never a favourite of mine, and was engaged in doing me many ill-offices for several years together. But I found him the only man who could enable me to fulfil the expectations of the Company with respect to Mahomed Reza Khan."

collecting. On this matter being duly brought to the notice of Government by Mr. Peiarce, the Collector of Midnapur, the Governor-General and Council after consulting the Advocate-General of the Company, Sir John Day, who gave an opinion that the view taken by the Court of the Regulating Act was wrong, issued an order to all landholders thereby informing them that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the Court only if they were servants of the Company, or had subjected themselves by their own consent to the jurisdiction, and that if they did not fall within either class, they were to pay no attention to the process of the Court. Besides this general proclamation, a special direction to the same effect was given to the Zemindar of Cassijorah, who thereupon took no notice of the further process of the Court, and when the Sheriff's officers attempted to take him under a *capias*, his people beat them off. This was too much for the Court to bear, and, accordingly, a writ was promptly issued to sequester his property to compel appearance, and the Sheriff collected a force of fifty or sixty sailors and others who marched armed from Calcutta to Cassijorah in order to effect their purpose. On arriving at their destination, they forced their way into the Raja's palace, maltreated his servants, violated the sanctity of the zenana and desecrated his family temple, packing up the holy Idol with other lumber in a basket, and affixing the seal of the Court to it. Hastings considered that the time had at length arrived when he could no longer delay to vindicate the authority of the Government and afford protection to the natives, whatever might be the hazard attending it. He, therefore, ordered the Commandant of the forces, then stationed at Midnapur, to intercept the whole party on their return and march them to Calcutta. This was, no doubt, an ugly affair, and, accordingly, Sir James Stephen with righteous indignation observes :—"It seems to me that the Council acted haughtily, quite illegally, and most violently, without any adequate reason for their conduct. In the result their conduct did not do any great harm so far as I know, but this was rather an instance of good fortune than a proof of good policy. A more discreditable spectacle, and one better calculated to break down all discipline and order than that of a governing Council marching troops against the officers of the Supreme Court can hardly be imagined."* This arbitrary and high-handed proceedings on the part of the Government, of which there has hardly been any instance in the annals of India, was more than the Chief Justice as the head of the Court could bear.

* *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. iii, p. 220.

He proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the Members of the Council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the King's Justices and to answer for their public acts. But Hastings was more than a match for Impey. He with just scorn refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the Sheriff's officers, if necessary, by the sword. But prudent and politic as he was, he did not allow his rage to get the mastery over his reason, and deeming discretion to be the better part of valour, he devised a plan which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. His fertile brain was never at a loss for an expedient, and his thorough knowledge of Impey's character, whom he had known intimately from his boyhood, did him yeomen's service in the matter. He cast in a trap which the Chief Justice was only too willing to get into. Impey was, by Act of Parliament, a Judge independent of the Government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight thousand pounds a year. Hastings proposed to make him also a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat removable at the pleasure of the Government of Bengal, and to give him, in that capacity, at about eight thousand a year more. In an elaborate minute recorded by him on the 29th of September 1780, Hastings very clearly showed the necessity for appointing a Judge to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, but he did not touch upon the question whether he would be justified in appointing Impey, who was already a King's Judge, to a similar post under the Company to which a salary was attached. But Hastings who was a layman was not so much to blame in making the offer as Impey, whose very profession was law, was for accepting it. Speaking of the latter's inconsistent conduct, Mr. Thornton indignantly exclaims, 'What could his contemporary, what could posterity think of a Chief Justice found, in the words of a distinguished member * of his own profession, one day summoning the Governor-General and Council before the tribunal for acts done in Council, and the next accepting emoluments nearly equal to his original appointment, to be held during the pleasure of the same Council.'† Impey himself, it would appear, knew that in accepting the appointment he was taking a step which was not quite justifiable either in law or in morality, and he, therefore, took care distinctly to assert that he would not appropriate any part of the salary "until the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor should be known." But as a matter of fact, he regularly drew his

* Mr. Rous, Standing Counsel to the East India Company in England.
 † *History of British India*, vol. ii, p. 152

pay as Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat for two full years, and it does not appear that he ever refunded it on the appointment not being approved by the Authorities in England. But the "temporary expedient," as Burke would style it, adopted by Hastings, took effect, and the storm which had been furiously raging from the latter end of 1775, all on a sudden subsided into a gentle calm about the middle of 1780. During this troublous period the Europeans of Calcutta had not been mere spectators of the unseemly scene. They, on their part, had made an agitation with a view to introducing jury trial in civil suits in which their body were concerned. This arose out of actions brought in 1778 in the Supreme Court against one James Creasy by two natives for keeping them in confinement for a night, and beating them. Creasy demanded that his case should be tried by a jury, but this could not be done, as the law was against such a course. The Court gave judgment against Creasy casting him in damages to the amount of two hundred rupees. This matter gave birth to an agitation which culminated in a petition to Government, known as Touchet's Petition, from the name of the person who shared the lead in it. This measure took effect and a Parliamentary Committee* was appointed to inquire into and report upon the matter. Almost on the heels of this Committee a similar Committee was appointed to inquire into the Administration of Justice in Bengal. The Statute 13, Geo. III, c. 63, had put affairs out of joint, and it was high time that they should be set right by amending it. The Judges of the Supreme Court very properly remarked, "that the Legislature had passed the Act of the 13, Geo. III, c. 63, without fully investigating what it was that they were legislating about; and that if the Act did not say more than was meant, it seemed at least to have said more than was well understood."†

The year 1781 is a memorable year. It terminated a period of fierce struggle between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court, and "commenced the era of independent Indian legislation; of the authority of the Supreme Court, as it continued more or less to be exercised for eighty years; of the establishment of a Board of Revenue entrusted with the charge and administration of all the public revenues of the provinces; and invested in the fullest manner with all powers and authority, under the control of the Governor-General and

* See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. ii, p. 205.

† See their letter, dated October, 16th, 1830, in the Fifth Appendix to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1831, p. 1284.

Council ;* of the recognition, by Act of Parliament and in the Revised Code of Bengal, of the right of Hindus and Mahomedans to be governed by their own laws and usages. The plan of Government, both as regards legislation and the Courts of Justice, in that year assumed a definite shape, and although many changes of course ensued in the long period which separated the administration of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, from the close of that of Lord Canning, its first Viceroy, still they were changes of detail, often of great importance, but bearing unaltered the general character of the system then introduced.† The legislature of 1781 proceeded to set to rights the errors which had been committed by their own body in 1773, and the result was the passing of the Statute 21 George III, c. 70. The preamble to this very important enactment gives the reasons for the necessity thereof. It runs thus :—"Whereas many doubts and difficulties have arisen concerning the true extent and meaning of certain clauses and provisions in the said Act and Letters Patent (i.e., the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Charter of the 26th March 1774) and by reason thereof dissensions has arisen between the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Governor-General and Council of Bengal ; and the minds of many inhabitants, subject to the said Government, have been disquieted with fears and apprehensions ; and further mischiefs may possibly ensue from the said misunderstandings and discontents, if a reasonable and suitable remedy be not provided"—Having regard to these reasons it was among other things declared "that the Governor-General and Council of Bengal should not be subject jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, for, or by reason of any act or order, or any other matter or thing whatsoever, counselled, ordered, or done by them in their public capacity only, and acting as Governor-General and Council ; that if any native or natives should be unpleaded in any action or process, civil or criminal, in the Supreme Court for any act or acts done by the order of the said Governor-General and Council, in writing, he or they might plead the general issue and give the same order in evidence, which order should amount to a sufficient justification ; that the Supreme Court should have no jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue, or concerning any act or acts ordered, or done in the collection thereof according to the usage or practice of the country, or the Regulations of the Governor-General in Council ; that no person should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court for or by reason of his being a landowner, landholder, or farmer of land, or land-rent ; that no person

* Harington's *Analysis*, vol. ii, p. 35.

† Cowell's *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1872, s. i, pp. 4, 5.

should be so subject to the jurisdiction of the said Court for or by reason of his being employed by the Company or by the Governor-General and Council, or by any person deriving authority under him, or for or on account of his being employed by a native of Great Britain in any matter of inheritance or succession to land, or goods, or in any matter of dealing or contract between party and party * except in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and also except in civil suits, by agreement of parties in writing, to submit the same to the decision of the said court."† These provisions are very important and went a long way in settling the most difficult question as to jurisdiction which had been a fruitful source of strife and dissension between the Council and the Court. Section 17 of this Statute, as we have already observed, also contained a very salutary provision :—It reserved their own laws to Hindus and Mahomedans in matter relating to inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party. By the 24th section it was provided that no action for wrong or injury should lie to the Supreme Court against any person whatsoever exercising a judicial office in the County Courts, for any judgment, decree, or order of the said Court, nor against any person for any act done by, or in virtue of the order of the said Court. Section 25 provided that in case of an information intended to be brought or moved for, against any judicial officer, for any corrupt act or acts, no rule or other process should be made or issued thereon, until notice containing a full and explicit account of the cause of complaint should be given to the said officer in proper place and time ; nor should any verdict be given against such officer, until it should be proved on trial that such notice had been given, and in default of such proof, a verdict with costs should be given for the defendant.‡

With regard to criminal jurisdiction an Act of Parliament was passed in 1784, the effect of which was to vest the Supreme Court with jurisdiction to try all criminal offences committed by any of His Majesty's subjects in the territories of any Native Prince or State, or against their persons or properties,

* The 17th section of the Statute enacted that cases in which questions concerning inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party shall be determined in the case of Mahomedans by the laws and usages of Mahomedans, and in the case of Gentoos by the laws and usages of Gentoos ; and where only one of the parties shall be a Mahomedan or Gentoos, by the laws and usages of the defendant." Compare s. 37 of the Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887)

† *Vide* ss. 1, 2, 8, 9 and 10.

‡ See 24 George II, c. 44, s. 1, as to notice which must be given in actions of this nature.

or the persons, or properties of any of their subjects, or, people, in the same manner, as if the same had been committed within the territories directly subject to and under the British Government in India.

Two years later, another Act* of Parliament was passed, whereby all servants of the East India Company and all His Majesty's subjects resident in India, were made subject to the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for all criminal offences committed in any part of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, within the limits of the exclusive trade of the said Company, whether the same should have been committed against any of His Majesty's subjects, or against any other person or persons whatsoever.

As to the Admiralty jurisdiction of the Court given under the Charter of Justice of 26th March 1774, the Statute 33 George III, c. 52, s. 156† extended it to the high seas, and empowered the Court by means of Juries of British subjects, to try according to the laws and customs of the Admiralty of England all offences thereon.

By the 37th George III, c. 142, s. 1, passed on the 20th of July, 1797, the number of Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta was limited to three, the reason assigned for the reduction being the all-important one in all matters of Indian legislation, namely, expediency.

By 39 and 40 George III, c. 37, s. 20, from and after the 1st of March, 1801, the jurisdiction and power of the Supreme Court was extended over the province of Benares, then recently ceded to the Company, and all places subordinate thereto, and all districts thereafter annexed to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

By 39 and 40 of George III, c. 79, s. 25, the Crown was empowered to appoint all or any of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Fort William (or of either of the similar Courts at Madras and Bombay), either alone or jointly with others to be Commissioners for the trial and adjudication of prize causes

* 26 George III, c. 57, s. 29.

† By s. 151, the Governor-General in Council was empowered to appoint Justices of the Peace from the Covenanted Servants of the Company, or other British inhabitants, to act within and for the three Presidencies and the places thereto subordinate respectively by commissions to be issued out of the Calcutta Supreme Court, on the warrant of the Governor-General in Council.

Justices so appointed were not to sit in any Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, unless called upon by the Judges of the Supreme Court, and especially authorised by order in Council. All proceedings before Justices of the Peace were removable by *certiorari* into the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Tagore Law Lectures (1872), pp. 138, 139.

and other maritime questions arising in India. The Courts were competent to try all crimes perpetrated on the high seas by any persons whatsoever in as full and ample a manner as any other Court of Admiralty jurisdiction established by His Majesty's authority in any colony or settlement whatsoever belonging to the Crown of the United Kingdom.*

The next important Statute which had reference to matters concerning India and its people was the 53rd George III, c. 155 † passed in 1813. By the 99th section thereof all persons whatsoever were authorised to prefer, prosecute, and maintain in His Majesty's Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay ‡ all manner of indictments, informations, and suits whatsoever for enforcing the laws and regulations made by the Governor-General and Governors in Council, or for any matter or thing whatsoever arising out of the same, any Act, charter, usage, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. By the 100th section the Advocate-General § of each of the several Presidencies was also empowered to exhibit on behalf of the East India Company informations in the said Courts against any person or persons whatsoever for any breach of the revenue laws or regulations of any of the said Government, or for any fines, penalties, forfeitures, debts, or sums of money, committed, incurred, or due by any such person or persons, in the same manner as the Attorney-General might do in the Court of Exchequer, in respect of any such laws or regulations. Section 107 provided that where, by the Regulations it would be competent to a party to prefer an appeal to the Court of the highest appellate jurisdiction in the provinces, British subjects residing or trading or occupying immovable property within the provinces should be entitled to prefer, instead of such appeal, an appeal to His Majesty's Courts of Judicature at the several Presidencies. This right, so inviously given, was afterwards taken away by Act XI of 1836, which enacted that no person by reason of birth or descent should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts. || At the present day Englishmen and natives are

* Tagore Law Lectures, 1872, Lecture 6, pp. 129, 130.

† By section 107 the Company's Courts were for the first time vested with civil jurisdiction over British subjects, thereby destroying all complete independence of the local Courts which Europeans had previously possessed.

‡ That is, the Supreme Courts at Calcutta and Madras, and the Recorder's Court at Bombay, the Supreme Court at the latter place not having been established before 1823.

§ Such an officer was, for the first time, appointed in Bengal in 1779. Sir John Day was the first Advocate-General of this Presidency.

|| The general exemption of Europeans from the criminal jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts has remained till the present day. The Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian High Courts Act, passed in 1861, recognise

subject in civil matters to the same Courts and to the same procedure. Section 110 of the same Statute, after stating that doubts had been entertained whether the Admiralty Jurisdiction of His Majesty's Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, extended to persons other than those amenable to their ordinary jurisdiction, empowered the said Courts to take cognisance of all crimes perpetrated on the high seas, by any person or persons whatsoever, in as full and ample a manner as any other Courts of Admiralty Jurisdiction established by His Majesty's authority in any colony or settlement whatsoever belonging to the Crown of the United Kingdom. By section 113 the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat, or other Provincial Court exercising the highest jurisdiction within the provinces respectively, subject to the Governments of Fort William, Fort St. George and Bombay, were empowered and authorised to execute process of arrest, either civil or criminal, within the towns of Calcutta and Madras, and the town and island of Bombay, notwithstanding the jurisdiction of the King's Courts. Section 124 provided that all suits and prosecutions for anything done under or by virtue of the Act should be commenced within three years after the cause of action should have arisen; or having been done in the United Kingdom, in the absence of any person beyond sea aggrieved thereby, then within three years after the return of such persons to the United Kingdom. The Vice-Admiralty Jurisdiction was conferred by Commission issued in pursuance of 39 and 40 Geo. III, c. 79, s. 25. See also 2 William IV, c. 51, and High Court's Letters Patent, clauses 32 and 33.

By the 7th Geo. IV, c. 37, passed on 5th May, 1826, provisions were made for the appointment of Juries in the East Indies. It having been enacted by 13 Geo. III, c. 63—*An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe*—that all offences and misdemeanours which should be laid, tried, and inquired of in the Supreme Court at Calcutta should be tried by a Jury of British subjects resident in the town of Calcutta, and not otherwise, it was provided by the said Statute of George IV, that all 'good and sufficient (*i.e.*, substantial) persons, resident within the limits of the said town of Calcutta, and not being the subjects of any foreign State should be deemed capable of serving as Jurors on Grand and Petit Juries. Section 3 provided that the Grand Juries in *all* cases, and all Juries for the trial of persons professing

and preserve that exemption and the powers of the old Supreme Court, derived from its charter and from analogy to the Court of Queen's Bench, are still retained by the High Court in its original jurisdiction, although neither necessity nor convenience requires it.

the Christian religion, should consist wholly of persons professing the Christian religion. Thus, it appears that non-Christians were authorised to serve on Petit Juries only, and that only where the accused were not of Christian persuasion. But this restriction was removed by 2 and 3 William IV, c. 117, s. 2, so that from the 1st day of July 1832 this important privilege was enjoyed by all residents of Calcutta who came within the category of "good and sufficient persons," and were not subjects of any foreign State.

By the Statute 9th Geo. IV, c. 74,* provisions were made, without any distinction between Natives and Britishers, for the trial by the Supreme Court of accessories before or after the fact to any Felony, and of any accessory before or after the fact after conviction of the principal, though the principal should not be attainted of such felony; for the trial of murder or manslaughter, where the death or the cause of death only happened within the limits of the East India Company's charter; and for the trial of bigamy, whenever the offender was apprehended or found within the jurisdiction of the Courts, although the offence may have been committed elsewhere.

An appeal lay from the decisions of the Supreme Courts of Judicature to Her Majesty in Council in all suits where the amount in dispute was of the value of 10,000 rupees.† The Supreme Courts were, by their charters, vested with five distinct jurisdictions, civil, criminal, equity, ecclesiastical and admiralty,‡ and they were enjoined to accommodate their processes, rules and orders, to the religions and manners of the natives so far as the same could be done without interfering with due execution of the laws and attainment of justice.

The Supreme Courts at Fort William and Madras, and the Recorder's Court at Bombay, were empowered, by section 23 of the 39th and 40th George III. c. 79, to make rules and orders extending to insolvent debtors in India, the relief intended by the 32nd George II, c. 28, commonly called the Lord's Act; and section 24 of the same Statute ratified any rules and orders which may have been previously made by the said Courts in the three Presidencies for the relief of insolvent debtors, and confirmed the acts done under such rules and orders.

Insolvent Courts, separate from the Supreme Courts of Judicature, were established at the three Presidency towns by George IV, c. 73, to be severally presided over by one of the Judges of the respective Supreme Courts. These Indian Courts were empowered by the said Statute to administer oath,

* Vide sections 7, 8, 9, 56 and 70.

† Order in Council, dated the 10th April 1838.

‡ The jurisdictions are technically termed Sides of the Court, as the Crown Side, the Common Law Side, etc.

and to examine witnesses on oath or affirmation, to issue commissions to take evidence, or to compel the attendance of witnesses, and to examine debtors and parties capable of giving information as to their debts and estates. They were also empowered to impose fines in a summary manner, and to commit to goal for contempt of court, but not to award costs except under the rules of the Supreme Courts. Under the 4th section of this Act, an appeal lay from the Insolvent Courts to the Supreme Courts. The said Act substantially remained in force until the month of June, 1848, when the 11 and 12 Vic., c. 21, was passed to consolidate and amend the laws relating to insolvent debtors in India. This is the present Act on the subject.

By section 25 of the 39 and 40 George III, c. 79, His Majesty was empowered to issue a commission from His High Court of Admiralty in England for the trial and adjudication of prize causes, and other maritime questions arising in India, and to nominate all or any of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William or of the Supreme Court of Judicature to be erected at Madras, or of the Court of Recorder of Bombay, either alone or jointly with any other persons to be named in such commission, to be Commissioners for the purpose of carrying such commission into execution. By 2 William IV, c. 51, an appeal was allowed from such Vice-Admiralty Courts to the High Court of Admiralty in cases of costs; and their jurisdiction was defined to extend to all cases where a ship or vessel, or the masters thereof, should come within the local limits of any Vice-Admiralty Court; and any person was authorised to commence proceedings in any suits for seamen's wages, pilotage, bottomry, damage to a ship by collision, contempt in breach of the regulations and institutions relating to His Majesty's service at sea, salvage and droits of Admiralty, in such Vice-Admiralty Court, notwithstanding the cause of action might have arisen out of the local limits of such Court, and to carry on the same in the same manner as if the cause of action had arisen within the said limits.

A separate Vice-Admiralty Court was established at Calcutta in 1822.*

Thus we have taken notice of almost all the Acts and Statutes bearing upon the subject of the jurisdiction and powers of the late Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William. Although great care was taken to make the matter clear, still doubts and difficulties cropped up under variety of circum-

* See the Commission in Smoult and Ryan's Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, vol. ii, App., p. 1.

stances.' In 1830 Sir Charles Grey and Sir Edward Ryan, whose high position, wide experience and deep learning give their opinions very great weight and importance, strongly animadverted upon the uncertainty of the legislation with regard to the jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court in the following terms:—"In one way or another," wrote the learned Judges, "sometimes by the mention of some qualification of the powers of the Court occurring in an Act or Charter, which has been afterwards insisted upon as a recognition, sometimes by a vague recognition of counter-institutions, which have been already set on foot without any express authority, and which afterwards, upon the strength of the recognition, are amplified and extended, sometimes by the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court being stated in such a way as to leave it to be inferred that the *expressio unius* is the *exclusio alterius*; sometimes by provisions which, to persons unacquainted with India, may have appeared to be of little consequence, but which, in reality, involve a great deal; sometimes when Parliament has provided that new Courts should be established upon the same footing as the old one, by something finding its way into the constitution of the new Courts, which is essentially different from the old, and would be destructive of their efficiency:—in some or all of these ways the Supreme Courts have come to stand at last in circumstances in which it is a very hard matter to say what are their rights, their duties, or their use." Many of the defects and inconsistencies, so prominently noticed above, were not removed so long as the Supreme Courts were in existence. In this state of circumstances it would not be inadvisable to quote *in extenso* the account of their jurisdiction which the Commissioners, who were appointed in 1853* to consider the reform of the judicial establishments of India, had appended to their First Report. The learned Commissioners said:—"The local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court at Fort William is limited to the town of Calcutta, which, for this purpose, is bounded on the west side by the river Hooghly, and on the other sides by what is called the Marhata ditch. Within these limits the Court exercises all its jurisdictions, civil and criminal, over all persons residing within them,† with the exception of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which has not been applied to Hindus and Mahomedans beyond the granting of Probate of Wills.

"The persons residing within these limits, and therefore

* In this year among the additions made to the Supreme Council in its legislative capacity were two English Judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court, *viz.*, the Chief Justice and one Puisne Judge.

† See Charter, cl. 19, and Statute 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 17.

subject to the local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court are computed, according to the latest information at 413, 182.

"2. In like manner the Court exercises all its jurisdictions over all British-born subjects, that is, persons who have been born within the British islands, and their descendants, who are resident in any of the provinces which are comprehended within the Presidency of Bengal,* or the subordinate Government of Agra. The number of persons so subject to the jurisdiction of the Court including the Members of the Covenanted Services, civil and military, but exclusive of the Queen's troops and their families, was, on the 30th March, 1851, according to the Parliamentary census returns, 22,387.

"3. All persons resident in any places within the said provinces, who have a dwelling-house and servants in Calcutta, or a place of business there where they carry on any trade through their agents or servants, are held to be constructively inhabitants of Calcutta for the purpose of liability to the common law and equity jurisdiction of the Court.

"4. Natives of India, within the said provinces, who have bound themselves upon any contract or agreement in writing with any British subject, where the cause of action exceeds† the sum of 500 rupees, to submit to the jurisdiction of the said Court, are subject to its jurisdiction in disputes relating to the said contract.‡

"5. In like manner, persons who avail themselves of the Court's jurisdiction for any purpose, are held liable to its jurisdiction in the same matter, even on other sides of the Court than that of which they have availed themselves, as, for instance, persons who have applied for and obtained Probates of Wills, are held liable to the Court's equity jurisdiction for the due administration of their estate.

"6. All persons, who at the time of action brought or cause of action accrued, are or have been employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service of the East India Company or any British subjects, are liable to the civil jurisdiction of the Court in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and also in any civil suit by agreement of parties in writing to submit to the jurisdiction of the said Court;§ and all persons who, at the time of committing any crime, misdemeanour or oppression, are or

* See Charter, cl. 13.

† Where the amount in dispute falls short of 500 rupees, even such agreement would not give jurisdiction to the Supreme Court. But this restriction does not apply to the case of persons contemplated by para. 6.

‡ See Charter, s. 13.

§ See Charter as modified by Statute, 21 Geo. III, c. 70, s. 10.

have been employed, or directly or indirectly in service as foresaid, are liable to the criminal jurisdiction of the Court.*

"7. The Admiralty jurisdiction of the Court extends over the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and all other territories and islands adjacent thereto, which, at the date of the charter, were or ought to be dependent thereon, and comprehends all causes, civil and maritime, and all matters and contracts relating to freights, or to extortions, trespasses, injuries and demands whatsoever between merchants or owners of ships and vessels employed or used within the jurisdiction aforesaid, or other persons, contracted, done, and committed in or by the sea, public rivers, or creeks, or within the ebbing and flowing of the sea about and throughout the said three provinces and territories.† The criminal jurisdiction extends to all crimes committed on the high seas by any person or persons whatsoever in as full and ample a manner as any other Court of Admiralty in any colony or settlement belonging to the Crown.‡

"8 The Supreme Courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects for crimes committed at any place within the limits of the Company's charter, that is, any part of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, or for crimes committed in any of the lands or territories of any Native Prince or State, in the same way as if the same had been committed within the territories subject to the British Government in India."§

By section 19 of Act XXXI of 1854, it was enacted that the term "Her Majesty's Supreme Courts" should include the Courts of Judicature of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Having given an account of the jurisdiction of the Court we shall now say something about what were technically called its sides. These sides or branches were five in number. The Crown side dealt with the criminal business of which trials by jury were the most important. A Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery used to be held on the 15th day after the end of the First Term, unless it fell on a Sunday, and then on the 16th day after that Term; and on the 20th day after the end of second, third and fourth Terms, unless it fell on a Sunday, and on the 21st day after the end of these

* See Charter, cl. 19.

† See Charter, cl. 26.

‡ See Charter as explained by Statute 33, Geo. III, c. 52, s. 156, and 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 110.

§ See Charter, cl. 19; Statute 23 Geo. III, c. 67, s. 29; and Statute 33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 67.

Terms. The Clerk of the Crown who prepared the Jury list and attended at the trial, and the Clerk of the Indictments, were the chief officers on this side of the Court. The Plea side dealt with all civil common law business. In this department the Court wielded a very terrible weapon which, if it was not warily used, was sure to interfere with the liberty of the people. Need we say that we refer to what was called *writ of mesne process** which was a terror to the inhabitants of Bengal for a pretty considerable period. On this Side the Prothonotary and the Clerks of the papers and of the depositions were the principal officers. The Equity Side had charge of the Equity Jurisdiction of the Court, and considerably resembled the Chancery Court in England. The Registrar, the Master,† the Accountant-General and Receiver were the principal officers on this Side of the Court. The Ecclesiastical Side granted Probates of Wills, and Letters of Administration to the estates of persons dying intestate, and also dealt with proceedings by Libel. The Admiralty Side decided cases which happened on the high seas. The Commissary, as the Judge on this Side was technically called, decided those cases with the assistance of certain persons who were skilled in nautical matters. These persons were handsomely paid for the assistance which they rendered to the Presiding Judge. The Chief Justice was generally appointed the Commissary. The appointment used to be made by the Sovereign for the time being.

As the business of a Court of Justice cannot be carried on without the aid of ministerial officers, the Supreme Court was very properly empowered‡ from time to time, as occasion should arise, to appoint such clerks and ministers as should be necessary for the administration of justice, and the execu-

* Speaking on this subject Sir James F. Stephen says: "The procedure in the *mofussil* in cases before the Supreme Court was ordinary English procedure in civil actions at common law slightly modified, that is to say, a writ was issued and served, and if the defendant did not thereupon put in bail to answer the action he was liable to be arrested, as the phrase was, 'on mesne process,' and imprisoned till his case was heard which might be for many months. The only modification introduced into this by the rules of the Supreme Court was that an affidavit as to the fact which was said to make the defendant liable to the jurisdiction of the Court was required of the plaintiff, and the writ was not issued until by this means a *prima facie* case had been made out for its issue to the satisfaction of one of the Judges." *Nund Coomar and Imprey*, vol. ii, pp. 144, 145. This law of arrest on mesne process was unquestionably a grievance, and its introduction into India was indefensible. The last vestiges of arrest on mesne process were not abolished till 1869 (see 32 and 33 Vic. c. 62, s. 6). *Ibid.*, p. 145.

† The Master had to keep a book exhibiting at one view the whole course of proceedings had before him in each case.

‡ See clause 10 of the Charter.

tion of the authorities granted to it. Such appointments wholly rested with the Court, only the salaries of the persons so appointed had to be approved of by the Governor-General and Council. On the very day the Supreme Court for the first time formally * sat at Calcutta, that is, on Saturday, the 22nd of October, 1774, it appointed the officers whom it deemed necessary for the purpose of duly performing the business thereof. The chief ministerial officers were the Registrar, Master in Equity, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, Accountant-General, Examiner in Equity, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Papers, Administrator-General, Taxing-Officer, Receiver, Keeper of the Records and Muniments, Sworn Clerk of the Equity Court, Chief Clerk of the Insolvent Court, Chief Interpreter, Sheriff, and Sealer. The Registrar stood at the top. His duties were of sorts, in which were included some which were even of a *quasi-judicial* character. His emoluments were very great, indeed, they were much greater than the pay of the Chief Justice himself. A writer in the *London Jurist* for 1832, whom we have already quoted, has stated that while the pay of the Chief Justice was £7,814, and that of the Puisne Judges £5,860 each, the Registrar got so much as £22,300,† or in other words, his income from all sources was more than the pay of the Chief Justice and of the two Puisnes taken together. The Registrar, it must be observed, had to do business not only in the Equity Side of the Court but in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Sides, and he had also some other duties besides. Thus, it seems, he was hard-worked, so that when in course of time the duties became too busy for one man to bear, an Assistant was appointed to help him in the performance of the work. This was done in 1851, when the post of the Deputy Registrar was created for the first time. Mr. Robert Belchambers who has so highly distinguished himself in the ministerial department both of the Supreme Court and the High Court, was the first to fill that office, and a very valuable Deputy he soon proved himself to be.‡

The Master in Equity was also an important officer. Though

* The Supreme Court, though established in 1774, did not meet for the purpose of transacting the business of the public till January, 1775. *Vide* Judgment of Russell, C. J., *In the Goods of Beebee Muttra* (1832). Morton's Reports, vol. 7, pp. 192—93. Montagu's Edition, 1851.

† The writer, however, does not appear to be quite correct in his facts and figures, but there is no doubt that the income of the Registrar was very large.

‡ Mr. Belchambers was appointed Registrar, Original Side, in 1862. His knowledge of the Procedure of the Court is quite unparalleled. His able work on the subject which has been justly characterised as "the Belchambers' Bequest," is, really a legacy to judges, practitioner and suitors. He has since retired on pension, but is still at work.

inferior to the Registrar in rank, his position was sufficiently high. The Master's Office cut a prominent figure in the "brave old days" of the Supreme Court. This office did not even cease to exist with the Supreme Court, for, as a matter of fact, it was not abolished until December 1863. The same person who presided in that office also took the lead in the Accountant-General's Office. In fact, the two offices were generally held by one and the same person. The aggregate pay of the Master in Equity and Accountant-General was, as stated by the aforesaid writer in the *Jurist*, more than that of the Chief Justice himself.

The Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas was another important officer. Like the Master in Equity, he also generally acted in dual capacity, namely, as Prothonotary and Clerk of the Crown. The main duty of the Crown Clerk was, as we have already stated, to prepare the Jury list and to assist at the trial. His income from the two offices held by him was very great, nay, it was greater than the pay of the Chief Justice. Thus, it appears that in point of emoluments he* and the Master in Equity were on the same footing. The duty of the Keeper of the Records and Muniments was to safely keep all records and muniments delivered to him and to class them in regular order so that recourse might be speedily had to them. In common parlance he would be called the Record-keeper. Mr. W. H. Smoult who, with Mr. E. B. Ryan, brought out an excellent edition of the Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court, was for some time both Keeper of Records and Muniments and Taxing Officer, and in this dual capacity he used to get Rs. 1,600 a month. The Sheriff was also an officer of importance. His main duty was to serve and execute writs, precepts, rules, orders, and mandatory process, regarding any matter appertaining to the Common Law, Equity, Ecclesiastical, Admiralty or Criminal Jurisdiction of the Court, which were issued in the name of the Crown and bore the appellation of the Chief Justice or his *locum tenens* and the seal of the Court. The first who held this office on the establishment of the Supreme Court was Mr. James Macrabie, who had come out to India with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Francis, whose brother-in-law he was.† By the interest of that gentleman who was one of the Councillors of the first Governor-General of India, he easily got that post and filled it with considerable ability. At the time of Nund Coomar's trial and execution, Mr. Macrabie held that post and showed warm sympathy for that unfortunate man. He wrote

* In 1867 the duties of the Prothonotary were transferred to the Registrar.

† *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. ii, p. 85

an account of the tragic scene which was enacted near Coolie Bazaar, while his Deputy, Mr. Samuel Tolfrey, wrote a fair and practically complete account of the Great Trial.* The appointment of Sheriff vested with the Chief Justice, but the Deputy Sheriff, or Under-Sheriff as he was otherwise called, was the Sheriff's own making. These appointments were required to be made every year, and the same rule has prevailed up to the present time.

Originally, the ministerial Officers of the Supreme Court were generally paid by fees. This state of things continued for considerable number of years, and it was not till it was found by experience that by following that course, the Government was loser, that a change was deemed advisable. Accordingly, in 1835, the Judges proposed that the officers of the Court should be remunerated by fixed salaries instead of by fees. They also recommended a consolidation of fifteen officers of the Court and their tenure by four principal officers, and suggested a variety of changes and reductions in the subordinate offices such as would finally limit the number of officers to eighteen, including the Judges's clerks, the attorney for paupers, the interpreters, and native officers. The Office of Counsel for Paupers was abolished on the death of the then incumbent.†

The officers of the Court as proposed by the Judges in their letter of 25th April, 1856, and approved of by the Government, as the establishment under the new arrangements for the remuneration by salaries instead of fees, were as Messrs. Smoult and Ryan stated in their edition of the Supreme Court's *Rules and Orders*, the following :—

1. Master in Equity, Accountant-General, Examiner in Equity, and Examiner of the Insolvent Court.
2. Registrar in Equity, Ecclesiastical and Admiralty, and Sworn Clerk.
3. Prothonotary, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Papers, Reading Clerk and Sealer.
4. Taxing Officer, Receiver, Record-keeper, and Chief Clerk of the Insolvent Court.
5. Three Judges' Clerks.
6. Chief Interpreter and Translator of Native Languages.
7. Second Interpreter.
8. Clerk to the Grand Jury.
9. Two Interpreters to the Judges.
10. Interpreter of the Portuguese Language.
11. Two Moulvees, or Interpreters of Mahomedan Law.

* *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 105.

† See Preface to Smoult and Ryan's *Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court*, at Calcutta, dated Calcutta, September 30th, 1840.

12. Two Pundits of Hindu Law.

13. Crier, Apparitor and Keeper of the Court.

Thus it would appear that with the exception of the Sheriff and the Administrator-General, all the important Officers of the Court had salaries fixed for them. As for the Sheriff and the Advocate-General they continued to be paid by fees.

Some time after, however, a change came over the office of the Sheriff which, like the majority of offices, became a salaried office, the pay of officer being fixed at £4,619 a year. But this variation from the arrangements made in 1836 was ere long found to be not a change for the better, and, accordingly, the old state of things was restored and the Sheriff had again to remunerate himself by fees. The same rule prevails in the High Court; and as it has been found to work well for more than a century, it is likely to last for a considerable time longer, if not for all time to come. As for the Administrator-General, he has, until very lately, been all along paid by fees. But whether paid by fees or by salaries, the officers had no reason to complain of the arrangements made for their remuneration. In fact, they could not have expected a more favourable arrangement. The real sufferers were the unfortunate suitors, and it was a common saying amongst natives that a suit in the Supreme Court meant inevitable ruin to the parties concerned in it. So long as the attorney did not submit his bill, the client seldom knew what serious risk he was running by proceeding with the suit. At the sight of that bill, he was horrified and found, when it was too late, that he was on the very verge of ruin, and that if he went one hair's breadth beyond, he was nowhere; but go he must and his ruin could not be avoided. Indeed, the administration of justice in the highest Tribunal in the land was very costly and only very rich people could afford to indulge in the luxury of a Supreme Court suit.

But though the Officers of the Court were handsomely remunerated, still it would seem they were often found to accept presents from suitors. This evil went on increasing in magnitude, and it was deemed necessary to arrest its progress, if not to put a stop to it altogether. Accordingly, in 1848, an Act* was passed, whereby it was provided that no Officer of the Supreme Court should, directly or indirectly, accept any gift or reward for any act or behaviour in his office other than his legal salary and fees and profits of office, or hold any office in any Bank or public Company, or carry on dealings as a banker, or trader, or as agent, factor, or broker. But there was nothing to prevent his holding any unpaid office in any

* Act XV. of 1848: See Sections 1, 2, and 3.

society for charitable purposes, or for the advancement of knowledge, or for the encouragement of science, art or manufacture. The above provision, however, did not apply to officers who were also advocates, attorneys, solicitors or the like, in respect of whom, it was provided that they might take the usual fees and emoluments of advocates, solicitors and the like.

By clause II of the charter the Supreme Court was also empowered to admit such and so many advocates and attorneys-at-law upon record, as it should think fit, and no other persons but such advocates and attorneys were allowed to plead or act for the parties. But possess as the Court really did, the power of calling persons to the bar, it seldom exercised it, and the barristers, therefore, for the most part, belonged either to the English or the Irish bar, or the faculty of Advocates in Scotland.* The first who got himself admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta was Mr. Thomas Farrer. In fact, he was admitted on the very day the Court sat for the first time. This gentleman came out as secretary to Colonel Monson, who, as is well-known, was one of the Councilors appointed on the establishment of the Supreme Council. Mr. Farrer was a man of considerable ability and knowledge of his profession. He ably defended Nund Coomar in 1775, though, like Sir James Mackintosh in the case of Jean Peltier, he could not get his client out. In that celebrated case, which made such a noise at the time, Mr. C. F. Brix, who was the second man that was enrolled as an Advocate, acted as Junior Counsel. Mr. Farrer had, what is called a roaring practice. In the short space of four years he made a large fortune, after which he retired to England and subsequently sat in Parliament.† The Supreme Court Judges generally refused permission to practise to any person who was not furnished with a license from the East India Company. They also thought proper to limit the number of barristers to the number of the Apostles, and of this number not more than four or five were generally in practice, many of the rest holding lucrative offices in Court.‡ This restriction of the number of practising barristers was, it is to be observed, a very wise and salutary measure. It may be stated as a well-known fact that the greater the number of practitioners in a Court of law, the more difficult it is to get justice done by it. Paucity of pleaders is a help to the ad-

* Besides such qualification the applicant must produce satisfactory testimonials to his good character and ability. Every Advocate, before being admitted and enrolled as such in the Supreme Court, was also required to take the oath of allegiance.

† See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, vol. i, pp. 34, 92.

‡ See *The London Jurist*, vol. iii, p. 163, 1832.

ministration of justice, whereas their multiplicity generally proves a hindrance to it. The glorious reign of "the Good Queen Bess," was conspicuous for admirable administration of justice. Pure justice and mercy, it was said, did overflow in all Courts of Judicature. At that time there were a very few Counsel in England. Indeed, there was but one Sergeant-at-Law at the Common Pleas Bar, who was permitted to argue both for the plaintiff and the defendant, he getting ten groats, only from each party. Thus the labour of the Judge was considerably lightened and justice was easily and fairly administered.* In the Supreme Court, however, there was a good sprinkling of Counsel from the beginning of its career. Along with Mr. Brix was admitted Mr. Charles Newman, who afterwards became Advocate-General in succession to Sir John Day.† In the ugly action which Mr. George Francis Grand had brought against Mr. Philip Francis—the great Boar who had gored England's mighty King and his ministers—Mr. Newman was Counsel for the plaintiff, and Mr. Tilghman for the defendant. The latter gentleman, it would seem, was a trained lawyer and had great parts. He was also Counsel for the plaintiff in the famous Patna case in which the Officers of the Provincial Court were cast in heavy damages. Mr. Tilghman died on his way home in January, 1796, aged only 39. He might have been appointed Advocate-General in succession to Sir John Day in preference to Mr. Charles Newman. Mr. Hercules Durham, who was Counsel for the Crown at the trial of Nund Coomar, was admitted in January, 1775. But though he bore a mighty name, he was anything but a mighty champion in the arena of the Court. Mr. Thomas Henry Davies, who succeeded Mr. Newman as Advocate-General, was enrolled in March, 1780, and he was followed in July next by Mr. Anthony Fay. Mrs. Fay was an accomplished lady and her *Letters from India* are well-known in literary circles. In course of time the number of Counsel has increased very considerably, both in England and India. Indeed, their number is legion, and it is mainly owing to this unusual increase of their body that the course of justice has not been running so very smoothly as it should. Mr. John Royds, who became a Puisne Judge ‡ of

* See Harlem MSS. in the British Museum as quoted in an article—"The Barrister"—in the *London Jurist*, vol. iii.

† Sir John was afterwards appointed Governor of one of the East India Settlements of the English. He died in England 1808. *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 1888, pp. 142, 143.

‡ Sir John held the high office of Judge for more than twenty years, during which he discharged his important duties with honour to himself and advantage to the public. He died on 24th September 1817, aged 65 years. *Bengal Obituary*, p. 161.

the Court in 1797, was admitted in March 1788. The case of Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Burroughs was similar. He joined the Supreme Court bar in 1789 and was raised to its bench in 1806, on which occasion, it seems, he, like Mr. John Royds, was knighted.* Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Macnaghten* was admitted as an Advocate in 1791, and after having practised at the bar for a series of years was elevated to the Bench in 1816. His *Considerations of Hindu Law* is a work of great merit, and is much appreciated by the members of the legal profession. Mr. Robert Spankie, who afterwards became Advocate-General, joined in the beginning of the year 1818. He belonged to that "degenerate race," as Lord Campbell very unjustly calls the Sergeants-at-Law. After retiring from India old Spankie joined the Home Circuit where he with Mr. Sergeant Andrews were in a partial lead when Sergeant Ballantine joined it.† Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas E. M.) Turton‡ joined in 1823, and he was followed in the next year by Mr. John Pearson, Mr. Charles Robert Prinsep and Mr. Theodore Dickens.§ Both Mr. Pearson and Mr. Prinsep rose to be Advocate-General; and as for Mr. Dickens he no less distinguished himself at the bar and was one of its recognised leaders. Mr. Longueville Clarke, who has done good service to the profession by his excellent edition of the *Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court*, also joined in 1823. He remained at the bar for a very long time and was regarded as its venerable father. He was a very unpretentious man; and when, some years after, a vacancy occurred in the office of the Advocate-General to which he was entitled by right of seniority, he waived his claim in favour of Mr. William Ritchie, who, though quite young, was rising very rapidly in the profession. Mr. John Cochrane, who for his pronative proclivities was called "Baboo Cochrane," joined in 1827. Like Mr. Clarke, he, too, remained at the bar for a considerable period and was looked up to with more than ordinary regard. A few months after, joined Mr. Charles Thackery, the father of the famous novelist. Young Thackery was an Asiatic by birth, having first seen the light of heaven in the "City of Palaces." Mr. (afterwards Sir John Peter) Grant was admitted in May, 1831. He rose rapidly in life. From the bar

* Sir William Hay Macnaghten who so highly distinguished himself in India, was the second son of Sir Francis. Sir William fell by the hand of an assassin in the insurrection at Cabul on the 22nd December, 1841. *Bengal Obituary*, pp. 56, 282.

† See Ballantine's *Experiences of a Barrister's Life*, p. 46.

‡ Mr. Turton had given great promise in England, but he soon closed his home career and came out to this country. He possessed all the qualities of an accomplished Advocate. Ballantine's *Experiences*, p. 46.

§ Mr. John Dickens was also an Advocate in the S. Court. He died in 1810. *Bengal Obituary*, p. 183.

he was raised to the bench, and from the bench he was raised still higher by being appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In all these walks of life Sir John distinguished himself. After he had retired from Indian service, he was made Governor of Jamaica, where, too, his usual success followed him. One of his sons officiated as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court for some time. Mr. John F. Leith joined in 1823, and as he was a man of parts, he soon established his reputation as an Advocate. After leaving India, where he earned his first laurels, Mr. Leith commenced practice before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and there, too, he did very well. Indeed, his forensic abilities were of a very high order which enabled him to hold his own against such men as Sir Roundell Palmer (afterwards Lord Selborne) and Sir Horace Davey (now a Member of the Judicial Committee). His long connection with India has been renewed by his only son, Mr. Gordon Leith, a jolly young man, who has been acting as Deputy Legal Remembrancer for some years. Mr. Thomas Charles Morton joined the Supreme Court bar in 1837. He was a sound lawyer and had extensive practice. His *Reports of Cases* still finds favour with the profession. Mr. W. A. Montriou joined the Calcutta bar in August, 1842. He, too, was a sound lawyer and a profound scholar to boot; but with all his ability and erudition he did not succeed in his profession. Indeed, his conceit and arrogance stood in the way of his achieving success. He was Professor of law in the local College and was held in very high esteem by his pupils, some of whom rose even higher than himself. He was not in easy circumstances, and died almost a pauper. Mr. Thomas H. Cowie joined in 1848. He soon distinguished himself and was appointed Standing Counsel to the East India Company. He afterwards rose higher, being made Advocate-General in succession to Mr. W. Ritchie. Mr. Andrew Thomas Turton Peterson also joined in the same year with Mr. Cowie. At the outset of his career, he made a name in the well-known forgery case brought by Joy Gopal Chatterjee against that great millionaire, Baboo Hira Lal Seal. Mr. Peterson championed the cause of the poor complainant; and although he did not succeed in getting the accused convicted, he established his reputation as an Advocate in that case, just as Erskine had done in the case of Captain Baillie. Mr. Peterson's power principally lay in cross-examination and no Counsel or Vakil could inspire greater dread in the minds of witnesses than he did. He actually bullied the witnesses and seldom failed to confound them, to which his glaring eyes, bushy beard and Hectorian voice contributed not a little. He has left at the bar a worthy successor in his

nephew, Mr. William Jackson, who possesses some of the qualities of his great uncle. Before Mr. Peterson * was a little more than three years at the bar, Mr. Richard Vigers Doyne joined it. The latter was an able man, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that he ere long made his mark. Mr. Doyne continued to practise even after the Supreme Court ceased to exist. In the great Rent case he fought on the side of the landlord, and it was certainly a cause worth fighting for. Baboo Dwarka Nath Mitter opposed him and a very tough opponent he proved himself. After leaving India, Mr. Doyne joined the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and there, too, he had considerable practice. He died in harness only a few years ago. Mr. Joseph Graham joined in 1854. He was a sound lawyer and rose to be Advocate-General. In the great Wahabi case he represented the Crown, but the brunt of the work was borne by his junior, Mr. Charles Gregory Paul, then Standing Counsel. Mr. Graham's son, Mr. William Graham, a learned young man of agreeable manners, is a rising member of the Calcutta bar. Mr. William Grapel, Mr. Charles Boulnois, Mr. Joseph Goodeve, and Mr. Gregory Charles Paul, all joined in the year 1855. Mr. Grapel, however, did not practise. He was a Professor in the Presidency College and was more known as a classical scholar than an equity lawyer. His *Institutes* of Justinian is only second to Sanders. Mr. Boulnois's practice was inconsiderable. He was a good hand at reporting and seems to have occupied some such position as is now held by Mr. J. V. Woodman. Mr. Goodeve was well up in law and was like Mr. Montrion, Professor of law in the Presidency College. His work on Evidence was for sometime one of the text books for Indian law students. Mr. Paul was an able lawyer and eloquent speaker. He rose to the top of the profession and was made Advocate-General in succession to Mr. Joseph Graham. He acted as such for a very long time and was pensioned off only a few months before his decease. Many were the trophies won by him in forensic fight, but the most glorious of them all was his advocacy in the Tarkeswar Will Case. Public opinion went strongly against the genuineness of the Will, but he bravely breasted this strong current, and, at last, succeeded in proving its truth to the satisfaction of the Court. When Mr. Paul was only five years at the bar, Mr. James Tisdall Woodroffe joined it. As the latter joined industry and diligence with learning and tact his success was assured, and, as a matter of fact, he rose rapidly in the profession. He has succeeded Sir Charles Paul in the chair of the Advocate-General, and a worthy

* Mr. Peterson afterwards officiated for some time as a Puisne Judge of the present High Court.

successor he undoubtedly is. He has immense practice, so much so that he hardly finds time to pay proper attention to all the cases placed in his charge. There is magic in his name, and suitors who can afford to pay seldom fail to engage his services. Although he is now verging towards seventy still he works very hard and it seems he finds pleasure in working. One of his sons is also doing very well at the bar and has only lately been appointed to officiate as Standing Counsel. Sir Griffiths Evans, who died only the other day, was junior to Mr. Woodroffe by seven years. He had the reputation of being a good lawyer, nay, the general opinion has been that his knowledge of law was more extensive than that of Mr. Woodroffe himself.

Thus, it appears there were a goodly number of barristers in the late Supreme Court and that many of them were of considerable note in the profession and did great honour to it. It is not our intention to decry any body, but if truth must be told, there could be no hesitation in saying that the Supreme Court bar was, in point of ability, learning and eloquence superior to that of the present High Court. The fact is that now-a-days, in spite of the greater convenience of the journey, men of real parts only rarely come out to India which they view upon as a place of exile.

What handmaids are to rich ladies, attorneys are to the barristers; in fact, the latter cannot do without the former. The qualification for admission as an attorney of the Supreme Court was that the applicant had been admitted an attorney of one of Her Majesty's Principal Courts of Record in England, or Ireland, or a writer to the Signet in Scotland, or a Member of the Society of Solicitors practising before the Court of Sessions there, or that he had served regular clerkship for five years, under a contract in writing, unto some attorney practising in the Supreme Court; or that he was, or had been, a principal clerk to one of the Judges of the said Court; and, in all cases, the applicant must produce satisfactory testimonials to his good character and ability; and show that he had reasonable expectation of advancing himself in his profession. Though the rule was so guardedly worded, still it was not unoften that some very dishonest fellows managed to get admission into the class. At any rate, attorneys and solicitors as a body were not looked upon with favour by the public. In England they were considered as pests of society, and in India, too, their repute did not stand on a higher platform. The writer, in the *London Jurist*, of the article on "The Administration of Justice in India," whom we have already quoted more than once, thus wrote of the Calcutta solicitors of his time: "The solicitors at the Calcutta Court

are very numerous ; we believe they exceed seventy. A few are very respectable and in extensive practice. Many are not so respectable, and in no practice at all. A few are officers of the Court as the Prothonotary, whose income considerably exceeds that of the Chief Justice."* Absolute purity is not to be expected in any profession. There are and must be black sheep in every flock ; it is only where the number of blacks is very great and quite out of proportion to the whites that the whole body is condemned as not fit to exist in civilised society. In the late Supreme Court there were, as the writer mentioned above said, some very respectable attorneys, but the majority were of a different character altogether. Their object was to acquire money, and they did not think it worth their while to feel any scruple or compunction as to the means which they employed to gain it. If people were once decoyed into their snare, they often found very difficult to get out of it without losing everything they had in the world. It was a common saying amongst natives that a Supreme Court suit meant utter ruin to the parties. In fact, administration of justice in British India has all along been costly more or less, and it would be no exaggeration to say with Swift that going to law has become as expensive as going to the altar. It is true that in these iron days you cannot expect to have justice done without your paying for it, but it is very desirable that the tax on justice should be light. Unfortunately, however, in this particular case, the remedy sought often proves worse than the disease, and the injured party has only to blame himself for seeking the aid of the Court.

In the Supreme Court the attorneys were all in all. Both counsel and suitors were entirely in their hands. The parties were not allowed to have direct communication with their counsel. Indeed, it was thought contrary to etiquette for a counsel to make any arrangement direct with the client. All such things used to be done through the attorney engaged in the case. Thus, the attorney had vast power in his hands, and if he chose to abuse it, there was nothing to prevent his doing so. Unluckily for the poor suitor such abuses of power occurred but too often, and the consequence was that the party was drained of his means to the very dregs. Many Calcutta families were ruined in this way, and it was not until repentance was too late that they came to their senses and vainly cursed the day on which they sought the aid of the Court for the redress of wrong done to them.

The Supreme Court at Calcutta had a very ominous beginning. The people so far from liking it, had a supreme dread

* See vol. iii, 1832, p. 163. .

for it. The Judges were all utter strangers, and the law which they administered was essentially different from the law of the land. The language, too, in which the proceedings of the Court were conducted was quite uncouth both in sound and characters. To crown all, the Judges backed some of the qualities which ought to grace their ermine. They piqued themselves on being the supreme authorities in the land, and it was, therefore, not long before they broke with the Governor-General and his Council. The Court and the Council appeared like two powerful rivals, each striving to get the mastery over the other. The result was that there was a serious split and consequent confusion and anarchy in the country. Sir Elijah Impey was not the man to yield, nor was Mr. Warren Hastings either. Both of them were, in truth and reality, fast friends, but they forgot their friendship in the exercise of powers which each thought he possessed. The aspect of things went on becoming more and more gloomy and threatening until Hastings pitched upon an expedient to allay the rage of the Chief Justice. That expedient had its desired effect, and the storm which had been blowing so very violently for such considerable period, at once subsided into a calm which took all almost by surprise. But this expedient, though it very well served Hastings's purpose, proved the ruin of his dupe, the Chief Justice. The latter was re-called and his place taken by his colleague, Sir Robert Chambers. The rule of Sir Elijah was no doubt troublous, but no body could deny that he did yeomen's service by amending and codifying the laws of the land. His successor on the bench was a quite sort of man, and was rather a little too pliant for a dispenser of even-handed justice. But he was very fortunate in having for his co-adjutor a scholar and lawyer of world-wide reputation. This was Sir William Jones, who was a far better and abler man than Mr. Justice Le Maistre whom he succeeded. Sir William laid the foundation of the fame and credit of the Supreme Court. When he presided at the Sessions which he often did, even ladies frequented the court-house to hear him delivering his charge to the jury. Indeed, he was a sound and well-read lawyer and his mode of doing the important business of the Court was well worthy of his reputation as a Judge. The foundation which was thus laid was to a certain extent built upon by Sir Edward Hyde East who became Chief Justice in 1813 on the retirement of Sir Henry Russell. Sir Edward proved a good Judge and deservedly gained the approbation of the people. In the midst of his onerous duties as Judge, he found time to take notes of important cases. These notes were afterwards elaborated into reports which bear his dear name, and which lawyers in India value so very highly. Sir Charles Edward Grey who became Chief Justice in 1825,

trod in the footsteps of Sir E. Hyde East. He added much to the celebrity and popularity to the Supreme Court. One act of his stands out in strong relief, and, therefore, deserves more than a passing notice. From the establishment of the Supreme Court until Sir Charles Grey became its Chief Justice, Hindu witnesses, with the exception of those who were pundits, were invariably sworn on the water of the holy Ganges. This practice was not at all liked by the natives, if it did not actually outrage their religious feelings. It was reserved for Sir Charles Grey to bring about a change in the matter which the charter gave him power to do. He wisely directed that the witness should be sworn in whatever manner was most binding on, and not in that which most outraged, his conscience, and that if he objected to the Ganges water, the pundit should administer the oath in some other form.* This salutary change has earned for the Chief Justice an everlasting fame and has so greatly endeared him to the Hindus with whom usages and customs weigh much more than written laws. This single act was alone sufficient to make him famous. But he did more. In the year 1831 he and his brother justices, Sir John Franks and Edward Ryan, effected a thorough revision of the charges made under the table of fees, and appointed a distinct person to act as Taxing Officer, thereby separating the duties of that department from the office of the Master, who had theretofore performed the duties of taxing the bills of the officers and attorneys of the Court.

Sir Charles Grey was succeeded in 1833 by his worthy colleague Sir Edward Ryan, who well maintained the reputation of the Court. When he was about to be made Chief Justice, a writer in the *London Jurist*, whom we have already quoted, thus spoke of the King's Courts as distinguished from the Company's Courts:—"With all the technicality, costliness and tediousness of the King's Courts, they are unquestionably held in high respect by the natives, who place the firmest confidence in the skill of the bar, and in the impartiality and integrity of the bench. In proof of the security enjoyed under them, it is only necessary to state a simple and well-known fact, that money is lent by natives to each other within their jurisdiction, at ten and twelve per cent., whilst it is always twice or three times, and occasionally four times, as high in the provinces."† In 1835, while Sir Edward was the Chief, an important change was made in the matter of the remuneration of the officers of the Court. Heretofore, they were remunerated by fees; but now it was proposed that they should be remunerated by fixed salaries. This

* See Preface to Smoult and Ryan's Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, 1839.

† See *London Jurist* (1832), vol. iii, p. 163.

measure, though it considerably affected the officers in a pecuniary point of view, was a great gain to Government. The proposal, therefore, was readily approved by the Government, as was the recommendation for consolidation of fifteen officers and their tenure by four principal officers, thereby effecting a considerable saving. Some offices were also abolished at the same time. Sir Edward proved a very able and popular Judge, and he held the office of Chief Justice till 1842 when he was succeeded by Sir Lawrence Peel. Sir Edward Ryan's tenure of office in the Supreme Court was altogether a little less than sixteen years, and his experience of Indian judicial business was almost without a parallel, so that it is no wonder that after his retirement he was first appointed Assessor to the Privy Councillors forming the Judicial Committee in England and was ultimately a Member of that august body. In matters Indian his opinion was received with great honour and was almost invariably acted upon. Many were the occasions on which the grey-headed sages of the Privy Council spoke of his services to them in very flattering terms.

Sir Lawrence Peel proved a very worthy successor. Although the very reverse of Lord Kenyon, who was fitly termed the judicial sloven, Sir Lawrence discharged the duties of his office in a capital way and justly earned the esteem and affection of all, both natives and foreigners. He presided at the Court for nearly fourteen years, and retired in 1855, when he was succeeded by his colleague, Sir James William Colville. Like Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Lawrence was also appointed Assessor to the Judicial Committee after his retirement from Indian service, and eventually a Member of that right honorable body. Sir James Colville was a very able judge, and he really proved an ornament to the bench. His decisions are marked by sound good sense, deep knowledge of law, and wide experience of men and manners. After a glorious service of more than a decade, he retired towards the close of the year 1859, leaving his chair to that eminent judge and jurist, Sir Barnes Peacock. Sir Barnes who had so highly distinguished in O'Connell's case, came out to India as Law Member of the Supreme Council when Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General of India. He joined the Indian Council as its fourth ordinary Member in 1852, and at once took to amending and altering the laws of the land. From the Council Sir Barnes was raised to the Supreme Court as its Chief. But ere long a change came over the chief Judiciary. The East India Company had ceased to exist as a governing body, the Crown having taken over into its own direct charge the government of the country. As a necessary consequence of this change in the *régime*, a change was also deemed necessary in the status of the Court. Hitherto the Supreme Court and

the Sadar Courts had existed side by side as two separate Courts ; but on the Company's rule having come to an end, their separate existence looked like an anomaly in the administration of justice. As Her Majesty the Queen had become all in all, there could be no *imperium in imperio*. Accordingly, the amalgamation of the two Courts was resolved upon, and as preparatory to the carrying out of this resolution an Act* was passed by the British Parliament in 1861 in consequence of the operation whereof the Supreme Court at Calcutta, "which began in discredit and with general reprobation, but finally obtained a lasting hold in the respect and confidence alike of natives and Europeans," † ceased to exist in July 1862, after a long career of more than four score of years. The Sadar Courts fell of themselves in consequence of the Company's rule having terminated. But though both the Supreme and the Sadar Courts ceased to exist, they were not altogether swept out of the land. The fact was that out of the materials thereof one composite Court was formed to which a new name was given to indicate its distinct individuality. This consolidation of two Courts into one was made for the purpose of securing better administration of justice as it went to unite the legal training of English lawyers with the intimate knowledge of the customs, habits and laws of the natives possessed by the Judges in the country. Thus, like two mountain streams which rising from two different but kindred sources, and after running a roaring race for miles and miles together, at last had their waters mingled by some Herculean force, thereby forming a mighty river, the Supreme and the Sadar Courts, after a career of more than eighty years were, by the same Paramount Power which swept away the East India Company, united together and formed into the present High Court ; but though they were so fused together, still like the united stream of the Ganges and the Jumna their respective individualities are not altogether lost in the fusion, the Supreme Court being represented by what is called the Original Side of the new Court, and the Sadar Court by its Appellate Side.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

* 24 and 25 Vic., c. 104.

† See Tagore Law Lectures for 1872, sec. vi.

ART. XIII.—MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD AND THE KORAN.

(Continued from January, 1902, No. 227.)

SECOND PAPER.

THERE was a promise in my last of another paper. In my last I treated the subject from an ordinary and common sense point of view. I don't believe any answer to it will ever be forthcoming, simply because it cannot be answered. Mahomedans will be content to keep their reflections (and ob-jurgatiphs) to themselves. The more thoughtful among them may perhaps ask themselves, "Is it possible that the Almighty has allowed us, for so many centuries, (even like us He has allowed the far more numerous bodies of the Chinese and the Hindus, for much longer periods) to take up with a delusion?" Well, no one can say what the Almighty will or will not allow. He permits millions of helpless men, women, and children to suffer all the horrors of famine, and then to die—at the same time, that rogues and thieves flourish and get fat. He permits peace to be blotted out, and war to devastate the earth. He permits lies to be current in the world. He permits weeds to choke and destroy the fairest garden, and insect pests to ruin the finest and most carefully tended crops. Whether these evils, after all, are of our own making, it is not my purpose here to enquire. Every one, however, will agree that He has given us reason and judgment to sift the truth from lies, and to guide ourselves by.

Those, however, who will not think on the problem presented to them by the previous paper—and there will be 99·9 per cent. of Mahomedans—will only hug their cherished Koran the closer to their bosoms and refuse to give it over to the authorship of the Syrian or Armenian Arian Christian monk. And they will be right in doing so—even though against reason—for, unless they come to the truth, they have nothing to replace for the faith that they might give up, and they must have some rock of written Revelation to ground their faith on.

The former, or 1 per cent., may be left to be guided by reason, and to further study and enquiry. It is, however, to the latter and to the Mirza that I now address myself. And as the previous paper was occasioned by him and submitted for the delectation of the "Prophet of Kadian," so is this one derived from a consideration of his standpoint of the Koran being true and inspired by GOD—only that he,—in

common with the rank and file, both within and outside his fold,—misunderstands, misreads, and misinterprets it. This paper, therefore, will show that it is possible to hold to the Koran, to view Mahomed as a prophet, to reject the Archangel Christian Arian monk, and yet, to be in harmony with the Christian faith and Scriptures.

For this purpose I assume that Mahomed conceived he had a powerful "call" in him, as powerful as we may suppose any special instrument of God outside of His Divine Word and Revelation ever had,—let the Mirza call him GOD'S Prophet,—to impose a pure faith, based on the preceding Jewish-Christian faith, on idolatrous Arabia. I assume that he had a "call," which some might call "Divine;" that he was thoroughly sincere and honest; and that, while he insisted on his being a Prophet of GOD, he based himself, and his own Revelation of the Koran proceeded, upon and according to—not contradicting—the previous Jewish-Christian Revelation. Such a view, and one in which the 99'9 Mahomedans, along with the '1 and the Mirza himself might also agree, may possibly be granted by reason. Where, then, does Mahomed himself in his Koran, lead us? Does he reject the Jewish Prophets and Scriptures, or the Divine Messiah and Christ of the Christians? Is his treatment of Christ what we would expect from him? Or do his followers misread and misinterpret both him and his Koran?

Well, we find that neither in the Koran, nor outside of it, he ever denies—but always asserts—the Divine obligation of the Jewish Scriptures and the Messiahship of Christ. He does not do away with the *Sacrifice for Sin* (typified by the Sacrifice of Isaac); he does not do away with Jews or Christians as True Believers; and, while rejecting idol-worship acknowledges Christ to have been *Essential God*. On each of these heads I shall say a few words: on the two first very few, inasmuch as Mahomed's followers at the present day do not deny them.

First, then, with reference to the *Sacrifice for sin*. This ingrained sentiment—expressed among the Hindus by *priachitho*—in human nature, of sin requiring an *atonement*, is acknowledged by Mahomed and in the Koran by 1st, his ever-repeated plea of *Mercy*, and name of the *All-Merciful* given to GOD; and second, by the Sacrifice of Isaac being kept up. Both these are from the Jewish Scriptures and the Jewish faith. In the Jewish Scriptures GOD is set forth as *Merciful* by reason of the Sacrifices for Sin—all prefiguring, showing and leading to the Great and One Sacrifice. "He sitteth between or over the outspread wings of the cherubim"—His "Mercy Seat"—when the place is sprinkled with the *Blood of*

the atonement Sacrifice. Mahomed, thus, was in accord with the Jews and the Jewish Scriptures. Hence, the Jews were also Believers to him. And this was clearly shown by his stating in the Koran that if the Jews believed on him, they would be *double* believers and *doubly* rewarded—the Mahomedans being merely units of faith. But do the Mahomedans, who are his followers at the present day, recognise the full meaning of *the Jewish Sacrifice for Sin, and God's Mercy Only in that Sacrifice?* Does the Mirza himself acknowledge and recognise these? If so, where does he—where do they—find himself and themselves?

Next; as to Mahomed's recognising and acknowledging both Jews and Christians as Believers. This requires no line of exposition: it is acknowledged *but not practised*—by all Mahomedans; and, as shown above, acknowledged also in the Koran.

Finally, we come to the fact that Mahomed acknowledged, and acknowledges in the Koran, that the great Prophet-Messiah of the Jews and of the world is *essentially Divine*. St. Paul uses the words "the analogy of faith" in regard to interpreting Scripture, by which one passage is corrected by, and co-ordinated with others. This must, and can only be, the rule. Mahomed, then, distinctly and unequivocally states in as many words "Christ GOD" when he says of Christ "*Ruh-Allah*" = the Word, Spirit, or Essence GOD. There is no question about the meaning—especially the theological meaning—of *Ruh*: it was equally understood by all.

Mahomed at the same time stoutly denies the utterly degrading and blasphemous idea that GOD has a son by human generation; and Jews and Christians equally believe that "A Virgin" was to, and did, "conceive and bring forth" not by human generation.

In both these most essential points, Mahomed is one with the Jewish Scriptures and the Jewish and Christian faiths.

The point of difference between him and the Jews—or rather some Jews—"the rejection"—for Christianity was carried through by Jews—is the very same as that between the Christians and the Jews, *viz.*, that those who call themselves Jews, and we see as such, do not believe on their Messiah-Christ. And the apparent point of difference between Mahomed and the Christians is that, while he acknowledges Christ to be GOD the Word, Spirit, Essence and Life, and also His Ascension, he denies His actual Death on the Cross. We say "apparent," as Mahomed, or even Christians, can truly deny that "GOD the Word" can ever die. The Union of GOD and man in the one Christ, who did die, is confessedly a mystery, and confessedly must remain one. It will remain to be proved

that Mahomed did not refer to the *Ruh-Allah*, and not the man Christ, when he said Christ did not die on the Cross.

And here let it be said, that there must always be much sympathy of Christians with Mahomed when he could not conceive even such a death for their "Beloved King"—nay, Mahomed so highly reverences this Messiah that he denies He was even stretched on the Cross!

And here we may close by just saying, that Mahomed was an upholder of Christ and Christianity, while his followers, including the Mirza, have wandered far away from him, and his expressed teachings in the Koran. What the Mirza—or even a cleverer dialectician than he—Mr. Justice Amir Ali—will have to say to this may be awaited in patience. So far as can be seen, there can be no answer to either my previous paper, or to this; and by giving both, I place all Mahomedans who do not believe on Christ as the Divine Word of GOD, not only impaled on one of the horns of dilemma, but impaled on *both*, i.e., 999 per. cent. on one and 1 on the other.

One word more, and that to my friend, the Mirza. He will see from the above how he may be a true Reformer among his own body, and also have the sympathy and good-will of Christians: by standing in, and occupying, the same position of Mahomed, and as in his Koran. From the evidence of *English idioms*—peculiarly English, and never used by strangers,—it is clear as daylight to any one, that his deliverances in this newly-started *Review of Religions* are written or concocted by a European—an Englishman (herein again, curiously enough, reproducing exactly Mahomed and his Syrian Christian "Archangel Gabriel!"). To the European "behind the scenes" we say, remember the old "Archangel Gabriel's" fate! His motive may be good; but he is in a false way, and he can only come to hurt (though it may not be the sudden and compulsory death of his predecessor): let him take heed in time. And to the Mirza—if he believes in Mahomed and the Koran, in a *spiritual* reformation of the Mahomedans—which they undoubtedly are in great need of—let him sever himself from such broken and halting as well as false European guidance, and mouthpiece, and even follow up Mahomed and the Koran, as shown in this paper, by himself, and his own efforts. He will then really do, himself, a Prophet's work, and be a "Prophet."

"CAWNPORE."

ART. XIV.—AN EDUCATION IN UGLINESS.

THE moral universe assumes a general drab ; the sense of humour decreases with the growth of the sense of citizenship ; it may therefore be as well to solemnly and sincerely state that the object of this argument is, not to attack those institutions and methods which make the globe, (and especially the British Indian part of it) habitable, but to suggest, in a manner which may be convincing and not too wearisome, that the care of our health and of the health of our Indian fellow subjects is not absolutely incompatible with a little attention to the beauty of the Indian streets and roads. The writer can imagine the possibility of a street, even in India, being clean and yet picturesque, and it is his opinion that every one's interest will be served by keeping beauty as steadily in our mind's eye as at present we do keep health.

In Europe there are left but few educated people unconvinced of the necessity for organised sanitation in towns and villages. Farm houses solve the various problems by their very isolation, and the fact of there being, as the farmer's wife said, "all the way between here and Dublin," in which to shoot their rubbish. But soon we find villages creeping together and crystallising into towns, and the towns again crystallising into boroughs, as their suburbs spread and eat up the intervening open fields. The process in most parts of Europe repeats itself indefinitely, the bigger towns attracting the outside villages and so on day by day, and year by year. The changes in such a town as London are, if one may put it so, seen but not observed, but in the town of Madras it is possible actually to see them going on, and there a glance at the map shows very clearly how the villages grow together and how it is that, on coming to any big town, in whatever part of the world, we find it split up into differently named quarters.

Such being the general tendency of villages and towns, it is clear that something has to be done by the village or town as a community, as opposed to an individual householder.

What may be called the "Gardylloo Epoch" cannot last indefinitely. There must come a time when a sanitary staff has to be organised, or the houses deserted. The germs of the present system existed in India long, long before the Feringhi set foot in the land. The sweeper and gravedigger castes have an origin that goes back beyond history and, in a limited area, they kept towns and villages reasonably clean and habitable. A "surprise visit" to a village off the main

road will shew how little street sweeping can suffice for a village, when land is valuable and the street the most convenient dust heap. The hereditary sweepers prevent the houses in such villages from being absolutely buried by the middens. An inspection that is expected is useless in India. Nothing but the unexpected can be useful and it is off the main roads that we learn what is most useful and necessary for the understanding of Indian life and thought. In small, out-of-the-way villages, we find conditions that probably represent the usual state of the streets in the "good old days" of Hindu life, a "Golden Age" that is, if anything, rather more elusive than the Arcadian ages of other countries.

It would not, however, be right to forget how the idea of physical and ceremonial purity has helped the cause of health and cleanliness in India, just as much as elsewhere. The rigidity of the Hindu rules of ceremonial purity makes the regulations of the Rabbis and their Talmud seem like ropes of gossamer. Caste observances have, in many cases, done a great deal to keep up aseptic conditions. Here and there, of course, the caste rules are in favour of ultra-conservative squalor; in Southern India there is a tribe which excommunicates the impious innovator who dares to wash his clothes! On the whole, however, the tendency is in the right direction, and, the student of caste rules is always coming across a sanitary regulation under the guise of a religious law. To some minds it might even seem that this field of observation deserves digging into more systematically and deeply than has hitherto been the case. It would be a great addition to our standard works of reference, were there a complete series of volumes which exhibited ancient and modern religious laws of ceremonial purity comparatively for every part of the world. The value of such a *compendium* would lie in the indication it would give to us of the best way to preserve health in particular countries, and the assistance thereby rendered to travellers and to the student of the modern science of Tropical Medicine. The materials for such a series have, for the most part, to be merely compiled from the results of past research and there seems little reason to doubt that, would the *savants* of different nations unite in this most practical investigation, another ten years might see its completion, to the lasting benefit of mankind in general.

So far as Southern India is concerned, the Tamil districts shew three principal methods by which Hindu society has kept itself in a sanitary state. The first is, the rule by which noxious or unpleasant trades are confined to particular castes, and those castes to particular "streets" or quarters in the village. Although—saving the reader's presence!—it might

be right to use the expression "Healthy as a scavenger," it is certain that the comfort and safety of other villagers have been considered in the rules which make leather-dressers and scavengers live in streets apart, and which forbid them to use the ordinary village wells. It is not enough to keep the air fresh, we must keep the soil clean or die, in India above all other places. The way in which the higher castes keep the lower at a distance is founded on something more than religious and racial intolerance. These enter into the matter, but the question of cleanliness and health has far more to do with caste restrictions than the hurried or casual observer might suppose.

The institution of the Brahmin quarter or *Agraharam*, is almost invariably useful; it is always clean, to its own benefit and to the benefit, by example, of other parts of the village. The back yards of the houses in it may not be all that their front view would lead one to expect: the *Agraharam* itself may be, is indeed, a means of fostering priestcraft and of maintaining its inhabitants as "kings and priests for ever" over the surrounding country, which they conquered dim ages ago. Leaving the *reasons* for its existence out of the question, the fact of the *Agraharam's* existence tends, speaking generally, to the spread of sweetness and light, from a sanitary point of view. It is "clean in itself, and a cause that cleanliness is in other streets!" Whether other castes be well or ill-disposed to the Brahmin, they pay him the involuntary flattery of imitation, so far as their means and condition permit; and they do right to imitate the way in which he keeps his streets and lanes.

Our third useful institution is the *Ter-vithi* or Car street. In the pages of the new edition of Dubois' memoirs, the reader will find a sufficient description of Car festivals. The writer has seen a great many, and the description of what happened in the good Abbe's time is practically the description of a now-a-days procession. The Car street runs squarely about the four sides of the principal temple, like a (treeless) boulevard, in most of the largest or oldest South Indian villages. The temple enclosure being square, the street that surrounds it necessarily runs foursquare also. Part or all of this Car street will be in the Brahmin quarter, the Indian Levite generally living near his temple, but, whether this is the case or not, religious considerations keep the street clean, especially on actual festival days; and it naturally has to be wide, to admit of the Car and those who drag it passing along in safety, and to permit of the Car being accompanied on its four or more days' journey by crowds of worshippers from all the countryside. The existence of this broad open thoroughfare

in the centre of the town, gives many a village just the air passage which it most needs, and which could be preserved in no other way. The Hindu has apparently no dread of the curse which attaches to him who removes his neighbour's landmark, least of all when that neighbour is the state and the land to be trespassed on is a road. Where no religious sanction applies, nothing but unremitting attention on the part of local officials keeps the streets of a passable width.

Occasionally the caste system stands in the way of progress. Brahmins will often entirely exclude scavengers from their house if there is no separate back door by which these low castemen can enter. Now and then, moreover, the low caste guardian of a drinking water tank will be afraid to keep higher castes from using it as a bath in the promiscuous manner in which all tanks would be treated but for local Government regulations. On one occasion, some years ago, a tranquil scene gladdened the eyes of an Englishman driving from Cuddalore, New Town, to the old port. On the west side of the road was a small tank, into which the chief water-main emptied itself, after passing through a filter bed. This pool was strictly reserved for drinking, but at this pleasant noontide the tank watchman was absent and the midday stillness was refreshingly broken by the splashing and puffing of a plump and elderly Brahmin, who seemed to derive much comfort from a bath in such beautifully clear water!

The foregoing remarks should be enough to shew that the writer is no theoretical opponent of Sanitation in India. To begin with personal reasons, he can cry with Stephano, "My stomach is not constant!" Unpleasant sights and scents trouble him even more grievously than the rest of weak mortality. Then, again, it is from pollution of land and water that we lose the very crown and flower of those who seek their fortune in the East. Finally, for the benefit of those who find comfort in coincidences, it may be noticed that the very title of Empress of India was devised (and made a principle even more than a dignity) by the Statesman who turned the words of the philosopher-king, his compatriot, into "*Sanitas Sanitatum, omnia Sanitas!*"

If this be not enough, the writer would urge that he does not enter on the discussion without some knowledge of the difficulties that attend sanitary work in the East. As might be gathered from the observations that introduce this study, these difficulties increase in more than arithmetical progression as the tale of the affected population rises. It is one thing, for instance, to keep the streets and lanes clean during the festival at Avnashi; a very different matter to regulate and provide for the health of the crowds that gather at the

Tiruvannamalai Feast-of-the-Light and cattle fair. It was at this latter festival that the writer got his first ideas of what was to be done or hoped for in the direction of sanitary control. What were hopes then the energy of one or two persons has transformed into actual facts. Since those years, the reader's most obedient has had, like all his colleagues, a sufficiency of practice on smaller or larger scales, as the case may be. It requires "*constancy*" of the kind hinted at above to carry out one's inspecting duties on all and every occasion. Once more, we must not forget the exceeding and increasing difficulty to be found in inducing the two ends—of a Local Board's Budget—to meet.

"For a' that an' a' that, an' twice as muckle as a' that " it is a most lamentable fact that sanitary science, as practised in a large part of India, tends to make every-day life ungracious, debases architecture and the domestic arts, and is in five words, a systematic education in ugliness.

If beauty have any effect on life and thought, it is high time that the matter was looked to. It is not merely a question of scarcity of funds: too often there is a poverty of ideas. The writer has no wish to add to the interminable list of matters "referred to" (various district officials) "for report." Their burden,—the sun, moon and stars be their witness!—is sufficient already. It is enough that they should have to write their hands into a cramp, and for relaxation, as one of their own poets hath said,

"dive in wells of perjury for truth."

What is playfully called their spare time is, I take it, already occupied with enquiries about, and inspection of, such miscellanea as ragi crops, rain gauges and registrar's records. This lamentation is rather meant for those who have leisure to think the matter over, and devise some practical remedy.

Above all it is gentlemen quite unconnected with Government service, who would do the country of their sojourning a right good turn by ruminating on this question at their leisure. "Lookers on see most of the game," and here is something in which they can add deeds to criticism. There can, let us observe, be no more exquisite illustration of the value of our education (sweet *name*!) and the depth to which it penetrates those who have received its benefits, than the fact, for fact it is, that there are perhaps not twenty Hindus or Mahomedans in the South Country at any rate who have ever given the matter a moment's thought. There is plenty to be done for any one with heart or head enough to see and feel the deficiencies of the present system.

As things now stand, we more than undo the good work of our few Indian Schools of Art by accustoming the eyes of

every wayfarer to associate cleanliness with uncouthness. Our big public buildings only affect large towns, while every rising village is affected by the inartistic creations connected with sanitation.

Before we approach the subject of buildings, our attention is arrested by what may be called the "common objects of the roadside." Of all ugly materials, corrugated, galvanised iron can claim the very crown. In spite of its superficial pretensions to usefulness, it is quite as malicious as barbed wire and twice as blatant. The wire may be "sharper than a serpent's tooth," but it has the grace to be ashamed of its ill-deeds and shrink from observation. The corrugated iron openly flaunts its stupid channels, that catch the eye as remorselessly as a donkey's clarion assaults the ear. The malice of this detestable sheeting is only to be appreciated by those who have lived in the tropics in a house walled, or worse still, roofed therewith. Given all its other bad qualities its solitary virtue,—indestructibility,—becomes a positive crime. And it is this incorrigible stuff that is fashioned into drums which, as dust bins, loll about the streets of peaceful Indian villages. A dust bin, especially a public one, is a sad enough sight in itself; but when made of these wrinkled plates it passes all bearing. Compared with it the small masonry dust bins are as motes to beams. Yet these latter have a transient interest: for it is doubtful whether all the buildings which are connected with health or sanitation have not, in India, had their germ from the masonry dust bin. This idea is attractive; but the (comparative) solidity of these brickwork boxes contradicts this theory and inclines the impartial observer to one which will be expounded and justified further on.

In dealing with the entrancing subject now in hand, there are points when we must say, "*Glissez, glissez, mortels; n'appuyez pas;*" but, without descending to painful particulars, one may go so far as to mention the dust cart, which, with the dust bins aforementioned, constitute practically the sum of what the people of the remote villages see of English civilization! What an exalted idea it must give to them of our habits and ideas! How favourable the comparison with the potentates of old time!

If the *objects d'art* aforesaid represent to the Indian the English idea of "sweetness," what stands for "light" is not much better. The street lamps, when funds permit of such luxuries, are generally supported on stone pillars, which are uncouth, without looking rugged, and bulky, with no suggestion of stability. Where the pillar is not absolutely offensive to the eye, it is robbed of all dignity by the flimsy collection of glass and painted tin that is called the lantern atop of it.

The post has the vice of permanence, but the lantern is ludicrously fragile. All this might be forgiven, in the dark, would the lamps only give a proper light, but faulty burners and crooked chimney rings contend between themselves for the honour of making the lamp smoke and the nett result is, a costly imitation of twilight. These tawdry, ineffective lamps have degraded the villager's idea of what a light could and should be. The beautiful old domestic hand lamps are disappearing; it will not be long before the temple lamp-stands disappear in their turn. The Malabar householder's lamp was comparable for dignity and fitness with the best of the Graeco-Roman style. Now-a-days, these elegant and cleanly forms give place to hideous tin makeshifts, which smoke like a torch and make the neatest room look mean and squalid. Compared with the stone monstrosities, the lamp posts made of old rails from the rail-road are at least supportable. They are frank and shew what they mean. These rails, however, are all too tempting for the beauty of the towns not to suffer by them. They make railings which never wear out, and they are responsible for the fact that, of all the railed-in spaces in the South of India, there are not ten that are surrounded by really ornamental iron work.

Another effect of this all-prevailing ugliness is, that it dulls the perceptions of local and municipal boards and makes them lose their sense of beauty. This may be thought a mere conjecture, but one can easily adduce a similar fact which will shew its probability. Any person who has to work much among native clerks who have had an education in English, will admit that, as a result of continually having to read drafts of letters full of un-English syntax and idioms, the grammatical sense becomes slowly but surely blunted. After a time one is continually conscious of detecting a grammatical error without being able to correct it, and, if the process be continued long enough, even this perception is lost and one ceases to be able to write one's native tongue correctly! In like manner the local bodies lose all sense of the beautiful and even cease to miss it. They do not notice the absence of many beautiful things necessary to every city, that is worthy of the name. Standpipes may be cleanly and economical of water, but so few fountains? Why are our statues so scattered? Why are they not kept clean? After all, the Indian climate treats statuary very well, and if the statues are not to be looked at, of what use are they? They *are* meant to be looked at: then, why not keep them clean? If once a week be too often, why not clean them, at least, once a month? It would seem as if, not content with teaching ugliness, we do our best to suppress beauty. That the streets still remain beautiful is

generally not our fault. They are often thronged with gaily dressed crowds, and it will be some time yet before the dress of the Hindus becomes as sober as an English costume. To judge of the real appearance of a street it should be seen when empty, when the day has got pretty hot, and not when it is full of people. If we would really judge of its appearance, we must not look at it by moonlight, nor in the evening time, when, in utter thankfulness at the sun being out of sight, we should find beauty in a brick field. There are very few streets, apart from the principal thoroughfares, that would bear this impartial scrutiny.

In Mr. Edward Tylor's delightful book on "Anthropology" he shews how the sabre, the scimitar, our ordinary knives, all billhooks, cleavers and sickles are traceable to the early metal hatchet, "which itself is derived from the still earlier hatchet of stone." The author goes on to shew the origin of daggers, poignards and bayonets, and proves that, though a sabre and a rapier "both are called swords, and are fitted up with similar hilts, handguards and sheaths, they are nevertheless two weapons of separate nature and origin, the sabre being a transformed hatchet, while the rapier is a transformed spear." It is most useful to train the mind thus to trace systems to their origins and to get thoroughly to the root of whatever may be the subject under discussion. At a timid distance from the *savant* quoted above, the present writer would venture to trace back the buildings needed for health in rural India to their earliest and most primitive form. While the cities shew examples of the Doric, Ionic, Decorated and a dozen other orders, the villages and more countryfied towns are faithful to the Debased Sanitary, or, (to give it its most expressive name) Cattlepound Order of Architecture.

Given the Cattlepound as prototype, it is easy to trace it through its subsequent permutations and combinations. We meet with it first as a simple wall built in a circle, with a stick or two to keep in its occupants. By further refinement, we build this ring wall round a tree, which thus gives shade to the errant calves or donkeys that visit this retreat. Yet another equipment is an earthen pot, sunk in the ground, to hold water for the animals. We go further afield, and find the pound adorned with a stone trough for water and, since trees cannot always be grown to order, a small thatched shed has taken the place of the tree and the entrance is closed by a door or gate. From this point the process of evolution becomes very rapid. Such a pound has only to be completely thatched over and, behold! a Toll Shed. The Toll Shed, in process of time, is tiled, to save trouble and the danger of fire. The Tiled Toll Shed receives a concrete floor and blos-

soms into a Slaughter House. With bigger windows and a table it becomes a Mortuary. The Mortuary is doubled and has a few sheds built beside or behind it: The Traveller's Bungalow stands ready. Three Traveller's Bungalows "and trimmings" blend into one and make your country Hospital. The whole science of architecture thus returns to a sort of algebraical formula, expressed in painful nightmares of sun-dried bricks and untempered mortar. The Cattlepound does not always grow up into the highly-complicated forms just described. In its simplest form it may creep along the ground into a Cemetery; at the point where it is turning House, it may meander into the form of a Market Place.

It is not pleasant to observe the fate of better buildings that fall into the hands of local bodies with this kind of architectural traditions. What has been a Queen's summer house takes on a blind swathing of whitewash and is "extended" by a verandah of lobster coloured tiles, supported on the ever-handy old rails. The sight of culverts and bridges sometimes raises the shadow of a hope that here, at least, their necessary shape will always preserve in them a primitive beauty, but, on the whole, unless something be done to stop the dry rot, one may expect even worse examples of the Debased Sanitary style of building. "The trail of the *dust-cart* is over them all."

Who will deny that this undoes the work of our Indian Art Schools? The debasement of architecture is fortunately not universal. In the pastoral villages one meets with newly-built houses which retain the dignity and simplicity of the ancient Hindu domestic architecture. We find solid and handsome teakwood pillars, instead of tottering, bulging brick-and-stucco; and the general plan of the house recalls the Roman Villa or Professor Jebb's reconstruction of the Homeric house of the Odyssey. Yet the degrading influence is at work. Even in the matter of personal ornaments, where the conservatism of the women has its strongest citadel, altered conditions of life are producing a change, and these changes are commencing everywhere. This is just the point in the History of Southern India, where a little right guiding, a few well-understood principles, could change this education in ugliness into a renaissance of beauty. Here is a chance for a Hindu who has got hold of the spirit as well as the letter of Western civilization, and who wishes to benefit his countrymen. And how? By turning Westwards? Not at all. If he is really educated, he will see that it is from the farther East that we stand most chance of getting a solution to the problem now confronting us. The Chinese, for instance, could give us hints that might be turned to good account, but it is above all, the

Japanese who have known what to keep of their old culture and what is best and most useful in the culture of the West. An infusion of purely Japanese Art would work wonders in Southern India, and the experiences and experiments of this purely Eastern people, when brought face to face with European and Transatlantic ideas, would give a Hindu student the help that he needs in forming a judgment as to what would be suitable and what would be unsuitable to the requirements of his own country. More important than all, such a student would be equipped by nature with a knowledge that the Englishman can only acquire after years of residence in the country and sympathetic study of the people. The educated Hindu would know at once what would be likely to be *acceptable* to his countrymen and what would be repugnant to them. For buildings, for clothing, for all or most of the necessities of life, the same or similar materials are available in South India, equally with Japan. A renaissance, inspired by Japanese ideals, is what is wanted. It is not a mere dream : a very little effort, comparatively speaking, might make it an active reality. It is useless to say that the people will never change their ways. This fact is certain : since the beginning of this century, they *have* changed profoundly, and year by year, the changes become more rapid and more far-reaching. The last twenty years have seen the flood of new ideas and new habits spreading further and further ; should we say that the hour hand of a watch stands still, because we cannot detect its motion ? What is wanted now is, a new direction and an upward movement. The ideas that are here advocated are not of a destructive or revolutionary character. They need not, they would not, loosen the bands of Hindu society, nor even affect the trend of its religious thought. They would create for the educated Hindu and Muhammedan what is practically a new branch of profession. The artist of every kind would become a necessary part of Hindu society, and instead of living on the echoes of the past, the present and the future would afford him useful and inspiring themes. The artist, as opposed to the craftsman, is virtually unknown to the Southern Presidency. The people have not learnt to enjoy and to need pictures. Once we have brought them to this stage, the outlook will be more hopeful. If the Greeks had such an influence on the life of the far North of India, after Alexander's invasion, there can be no reason to doubt that the renaissance here imperfectly set forth, would have an influence just as wholesome and more far reaching. It might not increase the prosperity of the country, but it would in every way increase the sum of its general happiness.

SYDNEY ROBERTS.

THE QUARTER.

HOME AND FOREIGN.—At the date of writing there are signs that the insane and fratricidal "War" in South Africa, is drawing to a close, and that mainly owing to the wise and humane King Edward. Since our last, when we stated that the Dutch Minister had been to England to see if peace could not be brought about, the Boer forces, under De LaRey, inflicted a crushing defeat on General Lord Methuen and took him prisoner. Instead of retaining him, De LaRey at once released him and returned him. This act (showing the *true* Boer character) of high chivalry received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament conveyed to the Boer general. Subsequently, though "operations" have continued, the Boer leaders, directed by friends in Europe, sought an interview with Lord Kitchener, and the preliminaries for peace have been going on—there being yet a couple weeks of the time allowed to run. Lest Chamberlain might muddle the thing again, the King sent for him, and had a two-hours' time with him. Let us trust that moderation and good sense—and even a "fraternal" feeling—will guide all parties to an honorable conclusion—honorable both for the Boers to receive and for the British to give: let people see that it is for *our own honor* that certain things should be done, and peace will not be long delayed. A moot point is an "amnesty" to all Natal and Cape Colony Dutch who have taken up arms. Why—except for a paltry spirit of revenge—this amnesty should not be granted we cannot see when to quote a similar instance, to induce peace in India after the Mutiny, Lord Canning freely amnestied all—and it included even blood-dyed murderers, let alone traitors.

As regards China, as we stated in our last would be the case, Russia has retained Manchooria, and Japan is preparing for war. There can be only one conclusion to it, unless, indeed, the whole world be somehow drawn into the struggle. As a result, Germany will be still further strengthened in those magnificent Yang-tse provinces that we had once fondly deemed our own and that we have lost through the downright *insane* Boer "War" and the cowardice and senile inefficiency of the "man-in-the-street" Salisbury Ministry. Gladstone, in all his foreign relations, never did anything half so vile, and so damaging, as this. We, who write thus, are true blue conservatives, but we don't understand "alliances" with "Brummagem" and Japan, bullying the weak and cringing

before the strong, and—dishonor. It was not thus that “old England,” under her grand old “systems”—even as regards the army—attained to her proud preeminence in the world. Senile Salisbury is now actually leaning for support on the United States—a power that we once thought no more of fighting than Italy or Spain. As we said in our last, Englishmen have lost their position. When we have not men like Pitt, Burke, and the Iron Duke, we have the Balfours, Chamberlains, and Robertses. The true conservatives, like the old true High Church party, are dead, and we have in their place tawdry imitation-ware both in State and Church. Even the old sturdy Non-conformists have sunk into an admiration of “prelacy”! Truly the times have changed; but what will the end be for our beloved land?

Japan, as we have said, is preparing for war with Russia in the East. Meanwhile, Russia is getting ready there and also elsewhere. Siam is getting into trouble with her Malay States in the Peninsula, and if, as is probable, they will be taken over by the British, France will indemnify herself in the North, and possibly close up to the Burman frontier—a far more dangerous neighbour than Russia in Persia or Turkistan.

Of the Mahomedan States in the world, Afghanistan, with a new and untried Ameer and the Hadduh Mullah, promises trouble. Meanwhile, the Indian Government, as a counter-stroke we presume, are having a “grand Durbar” at Peshawar. This grand Durbar, however, will really have no effect on the course of future events. Persia is sending her sick Shah to the waters of Contrexville in France, while placing herself still further under Russia’s protection. Arabia remains convulsed and unsettled, Turks and Arabs fighting together and dividing results. The matter of Koweit is far from being settled yet and we are out of hand there too. Turkey is mobilising, having serious troubles in Albania and Macedonia; and Austria and Russia having come to an agreement on the subject, there may soon be no “Turk” left either in Europe or in Asia, (Germany coming in here), and then will come the “scramble” for Jerusalem—probably the “Battle of Armageddon.” In the Soudan new dangers are threatening from the great growth of the Senoussi’s power, regarding which see our article in a late number. The “Mad” Mullah of Somaliland continues to defy us.

In Europe, Russia, seething with internal troubles, is getting ready for certain moves both East and West. Austria is quiescent and calm. Germany expectant—equally in China, in Turkey, in Africa, and elsewhere. Sweden is boiling over against its King. France is exercising her fleet. Belgium is eaten up with “Socialism.” Spain is full of “Anarchism?”

Italy is thinking of having her own share of the Eastern Adriatic provinces. In America matters are partially quiescent, and the "Canal" has a prospect of being really taken in hand. Mr. Barton, Premier of Australia, has declined to visit Japan.

England is going in for the Coronation, at the same time that trouble seems to be brewing in Ireland. In regard to the former we have the following:—A large raised platform called a "theatre" will have to be erected in the space between choir and sanctuary, and in the centre of the cross will be set Royal Throne. In the sanctuary itself will be placed for the King's anointing, King Edward's chair, which contains the fateful stone of Scone. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster having first brought the regalia which have been deposited in their charge the night before and delivered by them to the nobles appointed to carry them, will with the choir receive the King and Queen at the West End of the Nave, while the ancient anthem, "I was glad when they said unto me we will go into House of the Lord." As they enter church Their Majesties will be welcomed by the scholars of the Westminster School with cries of *Vivat Regina Alexandra, Vivat Rex Edwardus*. Then from four sides of the theatre the Archbishop will present the King four times to his faithful subjects and receive their assent to his Coronation. The litany will be sung by two Bishops vested in their copes, and this will be followed by the first part of the Communion Service and the sermon which is to be "short and suitable to the great occasion." Then when the oath has been taken by the King, the presence of the Holy Spirit will be invoked in the ancient hymn "*Veni Creator*." After a short prayer, in the course of which the Archbishop will lay his hand on the vessel containing the sacred oil anointing of King is made, "Zadok the priest" being sung. Then in turn each with a short prayer or address, the Royal ornaments are delivered, the spurs and sword being at once laid by the King on altar to be redeemed at a price by one of his nobles who carries it. Spurs, sword, and robes are placed on the King by the Dean of Westminster, and then are delivered, ring, sceptres, and last of all the Crown. Then there follows a new ceremony, for in a service like this we must call that new which is little more than two centuries old. The Bible will be presented with the words: "Our Gracious King, we present you with this book, the most valuable thing that the world affords." Then the Archbishop blesses the King, each blessing being followed by a loud Amen. After the *Te Deum* has been sung the King is lifted into his chair by the Archbishop and Bishops and other Peers of the realm. The Archbishop first does his homage, and receives the kiss of the King. The Bishops and other

Peers do their homage through the representatives of their orders. The Queen's anointing and crowning then follow. The King will then solemnly offer bread and wine, which are to be used for communion. The King and Queen will make their oblations or gifts to the church and the communion service will proceed, the Archbishop, Dean, certain Bishops and the King and Queen joining in the communion. At the close of service the King will pass through the altar screen and lay certain of the Royal ornaments upon the altar of St. Edward, and then return and proceed out of the church.

England, however, is in sore trouble regarding further "War" taxes. The Budget is, to say the least, a most extraordinary one, even "corn" being taxed. The income-tax, too, is raised further. In regard to this tax, which brings in nearly thirty millions sterling, there are 396 persons in Great Britain with from £5,000 to £10,000 a year, 159 with from £10,000 to £50,000, and eleven with income above £50,000. In Ireland only four have an income of from £10,000 to £50,000, and only one above £50,000. The opposition to the Education Bill, especially on the part of the Non-conformists, is largely increasing. A threat is made not to pay the education rate, if the measure passes.

A very influentially signed petition of nearly all the Churches has been presented to Lord Salisbury against the State (in India) taking any part in growing opium for China. The appeal, as a matter of course, has been answered by extremely weak side arguments. We really don't see where the loss to revenue comes in if the State monopoly is abolished under due safeguards as to quality. On the contrary, the consumption and revenue may be vastly increased, and this the petitioners do not seem to have considered. Our view with regard to England's selfish action in declining to act with Germany and France at the commencement of the late Spanish-American War is being also now shown up in the United States. In the *American Review of Reviews* Dr. Shaw makes the statement that "Canada's participation in the South African War—a matter which was no concern of hers directly or indirectly,—is the most fragrant violation of the essence of the Monroe Doctrine that has ever been committed, because it makes a precedent under which Canada will be deemed by Europe a party to all of England's quarrels, and therefore a legitimate fighting ground." "So long as Canada remains in this anomalous position," he adds, "the English statesmen who are congratulating themselves upon the strength of Canada's strategic position and upon her military value to England show little foresight when, in the next breath, they descant upon the value to England, above all things else, of the friendship of the United States."

Under new combinations of parties the Independent Labour Party, which lately held its Tenth Annual Conference at Liverpool, will have to be reckoned with. At the meeting, the Chairman said that the prolongation of the war in South Africa was an amazing circumstance, and they did not know whether it was to be accounted for by the incapacity or the turpitude of the Government, or by a dispensation of Providence on behalf of the Boers. The national iniquity would not escape national retribution. That retribution was seen in the death of Cecil Rhodes; and while we were seeking an empire abroad, we were losing an empire at home; while we were seeking territory in South Africa, America was invading our shores with its commerce and quietly transforming Great Britain into a commercial annexe to the United States. The Conference passed resolutions, Pro-Boer, against the Government Education Bill, advocating complete adult suffrage, tendering congratulations to the Russian Socialist party on the growth of the movement in Russia. Some discussion took place on the resolution deploring the increasing poverty of the Indian peasantry and calling upon Government to recognise their responsibilities with regard to India. Mr. Kerr Hardie said that under British rule the condition of India was steadily going from bad to worse. The acquisition of India by Russia would be a distinct improvement upon the present position. The resolution was carried.

We don't quite agree with most of these resolutions; but they show the tendencies of the age and the irresponsible rule of ignorance—or, the “man in the street”—with which Messrs. Chamberlain & Co. have made us familiar. We also note it said that barmaids are to be abolished even in England. If so, a great attraction to drink will go. Bacchus will no more have Hebe to wait on him, with Silenus in the near back-ground. This abolition of barmaids in Australia and India was all very fit, but we are afraid will put England completely out of joint, besides throwing an enormous number of very respectable people out of employment. New avenues for female labour, however, have been opened up of late in every direction, and it is better to be even a type-writer than to smile and serve drink behind a bar.

The subjoined comparison has been published of the chief items of the Board of Trade returns relating to the railways of the United Kingdom, and of “Poor's Manual,” which gives similar information as to the American roads, during the past year. The figures indicate how completely different are many of the railway conditions of the two countries, and how difficult it is to make a fair comparison of some of the methods employed:—

	Year 1900	U. Kingdom,	U. States.
Mileage	21,855	191,862
Total capital paid up	...	£1,176,000,000	£2,486,000,000
Per mile	53,800	12,900
Receipts—Passengers	...	45,384,000	66,281,000
Per mile	2,076	345
Freight	53,471,000	210,567,000
Per mile	2,446	1,097
Total from all sources	...	104,802,000	300,339,000
Per mile	4,795	1,565
Per train mile...	...	5s. 2½d.	6s. 7½d.
Working expenses	...	64,744,000	203,689,000
Per mile	2,962	1,062
Per train mile...	...	3s. 2½d.	4s. 6d.
Per cent. of receipts	...	61·8	67·8
Net receipts	40,058,000	96,650,000
Per mile operated	...	1,813	504
Per train mile...	...	2s. 0d.	2s. 1½d.
Per cent. of receipts	...	38·2	33·2
P.ct. of paid-up capital	...	3·41	3·88
P.ct. on bonded debt	...	3·50	4·33
P.ct. on share capital	...	3·39	2·89
Passengers carried	...	1,142,277,000	584,666,000
Passenger receipts per train mile	...	4s. 1½d.	3s. 6½d.
Tons of goods and minerals carried	...	424,926,000	1,071,432,006
Receipts per goods train mile	...	5s. 11½d.	8s. 2½d.

The "Local" Debt of Great Britain, created in our own day, has been computed to amount to about £300,000,000, in which the following are items:—

Workhouses, infirmaries and hospitals	...	£10,080,000
Lunatic asylums	...	4,792,000
Municipal buildings including Assize Courts, Police Stations, Fire Stations, and Markets	...	13,188,000
Schools	...	26,921,000
Street improvements and bridges	...	34,557,000
Gas works	...	17,434,000
Electric lighting	...	3,112,000
Waterworks	...	46,261,000
Sewerage	...	26,057,000
Cemeteries	...	2,699,000
Parks, pleasure grounds, libraries, museums, public baths, etc.	...	7,885,000
Harbours and docks	...	33,859,000
Labourers' dwellings	...	4,609,000
Manchester Ship Canal	...	5,128,000
Miscellaneous public improvements	...	15,551,000

This is a magnificent account, and shows that the country can attend to internal improvements while making herself felt abroad. And in regard to our wealth, a late paper in the *Contemporary Review* furnishes figures that are simply astonishing. The assessment of the Income Tax in twenty-five years went up from £514,000,000 to £794,000,000, an average annual increment of more than ten millions. The estates passing on death have risen from £134,000,000 in 1871-5 to £264,000,000 in 1896-1900. The paid-up capital of our railways rose from 588 millions in 1873 to 1,176 millions in 1900. The total amount passing through the bankers' clearing houses in 1873 was 6,000 millions, and in 1899 it was

9,000 millions. The shipping has gone up in the same period from 5,800,000 tons to 9,300,000 tons. The number of our telegrams has multiplied by six, and our letters by three. The output of our coal has doubled, and the production of pig iron has risen from 6,000,000 in 1870 to 9,500,000 tons in 1900. In 1873 there was one pauper to twenty-nine of the population, and in 1900 there was only one for every forty. Capital and Savings Banks went up from £61,000,000 to £191,000,000.

But other figures are equally instructive. The assessment of Income Tax on income derived from foreign and colonial investments has doubled in eighteen years. £30,000,000 in round numbers in 1881, it was £60,000,000 in 1898-9. The apparent stagnation in our exports appears to be really due to the fact of the immense fall in prices. In comparing the exports of coal, cotton yarn, cotton piece goods, and iron and steel in 1873 and 1900, our exports have only increased £7,500,000. But if the prices of 1873 ruled in 1900 the increase would be £54,000,000. The produce of meat and wheat has gone down. In 1870 we grew 62lb. of meat per head and 215 lb. of wheat. In 1900 we grew only about 51 lb. of meat and 80 lb. of wheat. The import of foreign wheat has gone up from 153 lb. to 263 lb., and of meat from 9lb. to 50 lb. per head. Our population has gone up from 31½ millions to 41½ millions. In 1871 it consumed 268 lb. of bread per head, in 1900 the annual consumption had fallen to 243 lb. The annual ration of meat, however, has gone up from 71 lb to 104 lb. In thirty years the consumption of tea has gone up from 4 lb. to 6 lb., of sugar from 47 lb. to 84 lb., and of tobacco from 1½ lb. to 1½ lb. We have bought more food, but we have paid less for it. The following table showing the fall in price at intervals of a quarter of a century:—

		1871-5		1896-1900.	
		s.	d.	s.	d.
Bacon	... .. per cwt.	42	6	..	55 9
Hams	...	53	11	..	41 2
Wheat	...	12	6	..	7 4
Wheat flour	...	18	6	..	10 2
Sugar refined	...	33	8	..	13 1
Tea	... per lb.	1	4½	..	9
Beef	... per lb.	5½d.	to 8d.	..	3½d. to 6d.
Mutton	...	5½d.	to 8½d.	..	2½d. to 7½d.

While in twenty years the population increased twenty per cent, the assessed houses had increased by 48 per cent. The number of persons per house had fallen from 5·5 to 5·15. As we happen to be on figures, we may notice an article in the *North American Review* for last November by the Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics on the increase of trade in the last hundred years. How it has grown may be seen from the following table:—

COMMERCE.				SHIPPING.			
Year.	Population.	Aggregate. Dollars.	Per Capita. Dollars.	Sail. Tons.	Steam. Tons.	Carrying Power. Tons.	
1800	640,000,000	1,479,000,000	2.31	4,026,000	None	4,026,000	
1850	1,075,000,000	4,043,000,000	3.76	11,470,000	853,000	14,302,000	
1880	1,500,000,000	13,915,000,000	13.27	11,045,000	13,045,000	63,200,000	
Year.				Railways Miles.	Telegraphs. Miles.	Cables. Miles.	Cultivated. Acres.
1800				None	None	None	360,000,000
1850				23,960	5,000	25	
1880				442,200	953,100	168,000	861,000,000
Year.		Cotton Production Pounds.	Coal Production. Tons.	Pig Iron Production Tons.			Decade ending with year. Dollars.
1800		520,000,000	11,600,000	460,000			128,464,000
1850		1,435,000,000	81,400,000	4,422,000			363,328,000
1880		5,900,000,000	610,000,000	37,150,000			1,950,000,000

What steam has done is referred to in the following lines —

The application of steam to transportation of merchandise by rail began in England in 1825, and in the United States in 1830, the number of miles of railway in the world in 1830 being about 200. In that year the world's commerce, according to the best estimates obtainable, was 1,981,000,000 dols. as against 1,659,000,000 dols. in 1820, an increase in the decade of barely seventeen per cent., while in the preceding decades of the century the increase had been even less. By 1840, railways had increased to 5,420 miles, and commerce had increased to 2,789,000,000 dols., an increase of forty per cent. From 1840 to 1850 railways increased to 23,960 miles, and commerce had increased to 4,049,000,000 dols., again of forty-five per cent. By 1860, the railways had increased to 67,350 miles, and commerce to 7,246,000,000 dols. an increase of seventy-nine per cent.

The first steamship crossed the ocean in 1819 and the total steam tonnage afloat in 1820 is estimated at 20,000 tons, against 5,814,000 of sail tonnage. By 1840 steam tonnage had increased to 368,000, while sail had grown to 9,012,000, by 1860, steam had reached 1,700,000, while sail was 14,890,000; by 1870, steam tonnage was 3,040,000, and sail had dropped to 13,000,000, by 1880, steam had become 5,880,000, and sail 14,400,000, by 1890, steam had reached 9,040,000, and sail had dropped to 12,640,000, and, in 1898, the steam tonnage was estimated at 13,045,000, and the sail tonnage at 11,045,000. The rapidity of growth of steam transportation, however, can only be realised when it is remembered that the steam vessel, by reason of its superior speed, size, and ability to cope with all kinds of weather, is able to make four times as many voyages in a year as a sailing vessel, and that, in comparing the steam tonnage of the late decades with the sail tonnage of the earlier ones, the former must be multiplied by four to give it a proper comparison with the unit of sail tonnage.

During the hundred years, the world's population has increased 150 per cent., but its trade more than 1,000 per cent. The total commerce of the world has grown from 1,479,000,000 dollars to 19,915,000,000 dollars. In this the United States increased from 162,000,000 dollars to over 2,000,000,000 dollars. British trade, including her colonies, has increased even more. These figures don't include domestic or internal trade. In every way England still maintains her leading position.

INDIA—POLITICAL.—Since our last the Budget has seen the light, and though there was a surplus of several millions sterling, which was likely to be repeated next year, it has disappointed every one. There was the chance offered for

the first time since the history of the Salt Tax, of appreciably reducing its incidence, and it was not availed of. As is well known, this tax is most harsh in its operation on the very poor, and is universally cried out against. There was also the iniquitous Income Tax, which descends to very low and fixed incomes, from which the utmost made is a mere trifle, and the very plea for it no longer existing. No reduction or remission of taxes, imperiously demanded in reason and by the universal voice of the country, however, was made, and the entire huge surplus has been left for the purpose, as asserted, of generally helping on the country to recover from late strains! Could a more absurd plea, or one that cannot possibly have a connection with the case, be conceived of? But the Budget in India is a solemn farce, and it is just possible that the class of "representative" members we have in the Council help to make it so. For there can be no question that so long as certain small class interests—tea, leather and shoddy for instance—are let alone not a member—especially a native member—will open his mouth. These "elected" or "selected" ones of India, who receive Rs. 10,000 per annum for their services, though veiled by a fiction of travelling allowances, have neither stamina, patriotism, or backbone. It is useless to blame Government or to say that protests and a universal determination one way, will be unheeded. These are the excuses of the silly, the incompetent, and the *jo hukms* ("dittos"). It is well known that these members are not elected or selected because of their merits, but for accidents of birth or position. And so long as this continues, the country has to thank itself for the solemn farce. We are sure that were the whole lot abolished to-morrow, Government only seeking previous expressions of opinion from the country and its natural and true leaders and representative bodies, there would not only be no loss, but a positive gain, and the country's interests better attended to. We certainly advocate either a more faithful and truer "representation," or the abolition of these so-called "independent" and "representative" members. We know it for certain—for we were "behind the scenes"—that when Lord Dufferin enlarged the Council and introduced its new features, he never intended that it should become what we now see before us. And it is quite possible that Lord Curzon himself, with his independence of character and innate sense of justice, will hail a change for the better. Not even an ignorant despot or autocrat likes mere dummies, or small self-centred and own-interested souls; and it is only in the clash of discussion and free argument that—among fallible and erring mortals—the truth is elicited. We have

sat in the Council Chamber, in our own place as a member of the "Fourth Estate," in Lord Canning's time, and can truly say that there was more true "representation" under the old system, and even the official element showed a more noble tone of self-reliance and judgment, than we have now a whole generation and half later. This is, indeed, progress with a vengeance! Where the blame lies, or among whom it is to be apportioned, we have shown above.

As usual—and it is well it should be so, the Viceroy said a few words in regard to his general policy during the year, and what he hoped to accomplish. He referred to the establishment of the new Frontier Province of the Imperial Cadet Corps, and claimed with pardonable pride all the success of these institutions. He was determined to maintain peace on the North-West Frontier, whether by expedition or blockade, and if we were assailed he determined to hit back and hit hard. With regard to his future policy he mentioned the experiment of Agricultural banks and the formation of a Commercial bureau to put Government more in touch with the mercantile community, and promised yet another Commission for the investigation of police abuses. This Commission, he said, was imperative, because it affected every house and every individual in that house. He made a sharp reply to those who complained that his administration had been one of Commissions and Committees. He admitted the charge, but said that these Commissions had been necessary to discover the truth which was not like a shell on the shore exposed to view, but covered over with a quantity of seaweed, sand and slime and required to be dug out. Those who thought that these Commissions would be like a gust of wind and leave only a report behind, would have a rude awakening. It was easy to see that His Excellency was not addressing this protest to any one in particular. The Indian official statement was of course repeated by Lord George Hamilton in the House, in which the very extraordinary announcement is made that the Commission on Education "will introduce more intelligence and wisdom to those who occupy land"!

While, thus, the Indian Budget has disappointed every one, the several smaller Annual Statements of the Local Governments, with overflowing coffers, have been giving intense satisfaction to the several Provinces—Bengal in particular. The Calcutta Public Library Bill has been passed. The Viceroy explained that his object in interesting himself in this matter was to present Calcutta with a public library worthy of the name. When he arrived in this country there was no such institution in existence. The Imperial Library

was confined in its utility almost entirely to officials, the existing Metcalfe Library, which contained an enormous number of books, had degenerated, so far as the use made of it was concerned, into a library of light literature and fiction. The whole building had now been renovated; a competent Librarian from the British Museum had been brought out; the old collections of books would soon be thoroughly revised and re-housed, and he hoped that a year hence the Metcalfe Hall would have become a place for student and historian, as well as for the general reader. He desired to collect in it every work written in an intelligible tongue about India, and he hoped, before he left the country, that the Library would be, on a small scale, to India what the Reading Room of the British Museum was to the people of England. This is, of course, a most worthy "hope," but one sure to be disappointed. Our *dear* Viceroy does not know India, and how Home standards and ideals deteriorate in it, no more than he does not know a great many other things regarding all our best planned and thought-out works—"the best-laid schemes of (mice &) mew"—and why they fail.

Immediately after the Council was adjourned to Simla, the Viceroy carried out his wish to give the Nizam a good start in regard to the new *régime*, and proceeded to Hyderabad, and held several important functions. No Viceroy ever visited Hyderabad under more favourable auspices, and no Nizam before this has been more highly favoured. Lord Curzon really made here the best, and most pregnant, political speech he has yet made anywhere in India, and we believe it will be one of those that will live after him in the future history of the country. The Nizam has also been secured to be present at the Proclamation ceremony at Delhi. From Hyderabad Lord Curzon proceeded to Delhi to inspect the preparations going on there, and unveil a Memorial to the Telegraph Officers who did their duty there at the commencement of the Mutiny. We remember the message, too, that was sent, as stated, by Mr. Brendish, then one of the lads attached to the Delhi Office, for we were in India at the time. We can assure His Excellency that, however few we were at the time as compared to our numbers at present, and however taken at a disadvantage, there was no such doubt, or darkness among either Government or the community as is usually set forth at the present day in such an exaggerated way. There was the fullest confidence in our ability and resources to meet and quell the revolt after General Neill had landed with his Madras Fusiliers in Calcutta,—his was the first succour that reached Calcutta, and he was sent off at once and saved all India east of Allahabad—and Lord

Elgin, had diverted the troops going to China. The Punjab, too, had remained stanch, and set forth to 'help. There were MEN in the Punjab in those days of the "old school" (among them several) of our own contributors and writers, Cust still living!) Most, if not all, the great Chiefs, Princes, and Feudatories remained faithful to us. And we express not only our own opinion entertained at the very time, but that of every one else, official and non-official, when we say that we could have finished the matter here without the aid of another soldier from Home, so many of whom were subsequently sent. To return to the Telegraph Memorial and the one solitary Delhi survivor Brendish, it is within our knowledge that till only less than a twelve-month back there was another survivor—who subsequently also passed his life in the Telegraph service—of not only the first day of the Mutiny at Delhi, but of the entire siege, for he was through it all, disguised and kept hid in the City! He was a mere lad of some seventeen or eighteen. He died only last June at Tundla, within sight of Delhi! Very few knew he had been through the siege inside the City itself, and his interesting narrations of the time he passed through there went to prove that the "Mutineers" were not all, or wholly, bad.

The Resolution of the Government of India in regard to the Land Revenue, is an important document which came in too late for us to notice in our last issue. The conclusions arrived at are:—

(1) That a permanent settlement, whether in Bengal or elsewhere, is no protection against the incidence and consequence of famine.

(2) That in areas where the State receives its land revenue from landlords, progressive moderation is the key-note of the policy of Government, and that a standard of fifty per cent. of the assets is one which is almost uniformly observed in practice, and is more often departed from on the side of deficiency than of excess.

(3) That in the same areas, the State has not objected, and does not hesitate, to interfere by legislation to protect the interests of tenants against oppression at the hands of the landlords.

(4) That in areas where the State takes land revenue direct from cultivators, Mr. Dutt's proposal to fix the assessment at one-fifth of the gross produce would result in the imposition of a greatly increased burden upon the people.

(5) That the policy of long term settlements is gradually being extended, exceptions being justified by the conditions of local development.

(6) That the simplification and cheapening of proceedings connected with new settlements, and an avoidance of the harassing invasion of an army of subordinate officials are part of the deliberate policy of the Government.

(7) That the principle of exempting or allowing for improvements is one of general acceptance; but may be capable of further extension.

(8) That assessments have ceased to be made upon prospective assets.

(9) That local taxation as a whole, though susceptible of some redistribution, is neither immoderate nor burdensome.

(10) That over-assessment is not, as alleged, a general or widespread source of poverty and indebtedness in India, and that it cannot fairly be regarded as a contributory cause of famine.

The Resolution goes on to state that the Government of India has laid down liberal principles for future guidance and, will be prepared, where the necessity is established, to make further advances in respect of (1) the progressive and graduated imposition of any large enhancement; (2) greater elasticity in revenue collection, facilitating its adjustment to variations of season and the circumstances of the people; and (3) a more general resort to the reduction of assessment in cases of local deterioration where such reduction cannot be claimed under the terms of the settlement.

The Resolution then states that the Governor-General in Council desires to notice three aspects of the land revenue question, involving possible cases of hardship to the poorer landholder, which seem to him to be of much greater importance than the criticisms he had been examining. (1) The first is the pitch of enhancement; (2) the second is the levy of the same assessment in bad years as in good on the assumption that the savings of the one will meet the losses of the other; (3) the third is the effect of local deterioration upon land revenue payments. To meet these the Government desires to lay stress upon the principle of the gradual and progressive enforcement of increases of other than moderate dimensions, the granting of remissions in bad years, and the reduction of assessment in cases where the yield falls off unexpectedly.

At the present, as we write, the Viceroy is at Peshawar, about to hold a Durbar of Frontier significance. What he will say there may produce an effect in Cabul with the Amir, but little in the country itself, while the tribes and their headmen will rule themselves as even of old. It is as hopeless to convince the tribes by argument as to Europeanise (denationalise) India by talk. The Mahsuds have been still again giving us trouble since the "blockade" of their country has been raised. From Peshawar the Viceroy goes to Simla after probably seeing Dehra, on which valley as well as other valleys of the Northern Himalayas we remember we published an unsigned paper in this *Review* some twenty or thirty or more years ago which the Press at the time noticed very favorably. There are still now the pretty cottages (bungalows) nestling under trees and foliage, and the lanes lined by rose-hedges, but the old "Generals" and their "pretty daughters" have gone! Eheu!—we cannot even repeat "Do you remember sweet Alice whose hair was so brown" to any Ben Bolt now living in India!

A regulation to make better provision for the suppression of murderous outrages in certain Frontier tracts is published, having special application to British Baluchistan. It provides punishment by death, or transportation, or imprisonment for life, with the forfeiture of all property, in the case of fanatics committing, or a tempting to commit murder. Transportation or imprisonment may be accompanied with whipping. If the

fanatic is killed or dies of wounds, his property may be confiscated. When the sentence of death is passed the body of the fanatic may be disposed of as the trying court shall direct. Powers of arrest and detention are given regarding persons believed to have the intention to commit murderous offences, or who elect, or who habitually protect or harbour fanatics committing such offences, or who orally or in writing counsel or by approval encourage, the commission of such offences. Power is given on the recommendation of a court of elders, or, after due inquiry, to impose fines on individuals or communities who may be held not to have exercised reasonable prudence or diligence in preventing the commission of offences by fanatics. This form of punishment may be varied by ordering the forfeiture of allowances of assignment or remission of land revenue.

Of the local and subordinate Governments of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, and the others, little has occurred save the delivery of the local budgets, which have all been well received, and it is stated that there is a scheme of improvement in hand for Calcutta.

NATIVE OPINION.—We add a new sub-section to show native opinion on leading public matters

*On the Salt Duty and Income-Tax. (Advocate of India).—*The imperative necessity of giving relief to the poorest masses as regards their pinch of daily salt has been universally acknowledged, even by the Government itself. But it seems that nothing has hitherto been done to bring back the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, as was the case between 1882 and 1889. But the breathless pace at which the military expenditure of the Empire was allowed to swell by the authorities at Home, notwithstanding the protests of the Indian Government, seriously embarrassed the finances. So it happened that the conquest of Burma and the addition to the Army of 30,000 soldiers first led, in 1886, to the conversion of the then license-tax into an income-tax. But in imposing that tax Lord Dufferin openly observed in the Council Chamber that it was not permanent; but that "as soon as the finances permitted" it would be repealed. Large unproductive works, like military railways and special defences, brought the Government of India to a deadlock again in 1889, when they had again to enhance taxation, and the duty on salt was enhanced from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2½ per maund, with this net effect, that from 1899 to date the consumption of salt, which under the lower duty of Rs. 2 had shown an increased consumption, fell off. The Government can never get out of the fact that this duty was ear-marked and promised to be remitted as soon as the finances allowed. Similarly with the income-tax. The tax was levied

in 1886. It has now been fifteen years in existence. But if it is to be at all maintained as a permanent source of revenue, then it is essential at this juncture that it should be modified. We need hardly observe that the tax is a tax on income, and that as such it should be so graduated as to allow its incidence to fall in proportion to the ability of the assessee.

Reduction of Salt-tax. (*Gujarati Mitra*).—We do not know if the Government of India contemplates shortly to reduce the tax on salt as said by several of our contemporaries. The likelihood of a reduction in salt duty which presses largely on the mass of the Indian people, and which is such a prolific source of Indian revenues, can be expected only under a very prosperous state of the Indian exchequer, and we are not sure if the authorities at Calcutta and the Secretary of State for India would at all be prepared to make such a concession, especially after an enormous expenditure incurred by them on account of the recent famines which devastated the country. However, it can hardly be denied that the reduction, if made, will place a large part of the population under eternal obligation to Government. Salt is a prime necessary of their life, specially the agricultural classes and other wild tribes live, in fact, mainly on salt and vegetables, and the tax must press indeed heavily on them more than on other more happily-placed people. The Congress and the people have often prayed Government for a reduction in the tax on salt, and if the efforts hitherto have been unavailing, it is not due in any way to a lack of sufficient evidence as regards the oppressiveness of the tax placed before the Government. The evidence of the people directly affected by the enhancement of the tax is obviously of a nature not to be lightly ignored by any one, much less Government. We sincerely trust Government comes forward to make a reduction as the rumour tells, and we may be sure His Excellency Lord Curzon will have signalled his rule in by no means an ungenerous way.

VICEREGAL TOURS (Kaiser-i-Hind).—Sir John, the saviour of the Punjab, was old and the cares of the empire, even from 1864 to 1869, with which he was weighted, were such as even Lord Curzon, working as he says he does as a coolie in a coal pit, could have no conception of. The age, too, at which he came back to this country, in succession to the first Lord Elgin, a man of great promise, must be taken into consideration. The Suez Canal was still in embryo; and in his days weekly mails, telegraphs, and frequent furloughs and privilege were almost unknown. Recuperation of health in England, from time to time, was not the fashion that it has been since the days that he toiled and spinned in a newly-acquired province. Hence, Sir John, with the sanction of Sir Charles Wood, first

initiated a residence at Simla for six months of the year. But what was in his case a necessity has since been made a matter of course. The genesis and subsequent history of the annual exodus, however, is another story. But Sir John was a man of deeds and not words. Neither was he in any way a prancing proconsul as some of his active and more youthful successors have been.

Lord Mayo it was, who with his keen foresight, first began touring on his way to Simla. His great durbar at Umballa, where he received in state Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, after the war of the succession to the throne there for nearly four years, is well-known. So also is his visit to some of the powerful feudatories in Upper India. It was he who initiated the happy idea of frequenting different parts of the country during his way to and back from Simla. Since his time each successive Viceroy has "improved" on the practice till at last we see what it is to-day, namely, an improvement backward.... It is not by means of flying visits of twenty-four or twenty-eight hours' duration that any Viceroy, unless endowed with superhuman ability, could ever hope to learn *the real truth* from the lips of his people. And if that truth is not to be known, save such as the mouth of the local authority may choose to dole out, if it is doled out at all, of what use are these visits? The Viceroy is the highest emblem of the State. In India he is supposed to be a kind of mortal god—a terrestrial Providence who must independently judge between the servants of the State and its subjects. Can he efficiently discharge that rôle so long as tours are conducted in the fashion that they are? Let the advocates of such tours honestly answer our question. If the voice of the people is to be heard in right earnest, if their legitimate and reasonable grievances are to be fairly attended to, if justice is to be administered in a spirit of the greatest righteousness, and if contentment and prosperity, which are the very foundations of permanent British rule in India, are to be assured—if these be the objects with which Viceregal tours should be made, then, we unhesitatingly assert that they are nowhere. These tours have simply degenerated into a refined edition of the tours of the cold weather globe-trotters, supplemented by the pomp and pageantry of State. They are no more. The methods, in our opinion, by which Viceroys can achieve those sublime objects, should be entirely different. And after all, it is not by evanescent speeches, however eloquent, however tickling to fancy for the time, and however well eulogised they may be on the other side by means of electricity, that the good government of the country or the permanent welfare of its people can be achieved. We repeat, and repeat with

emphasis, that State tours as conducted at present are not only a waste of public moneys; but a huge sham and delusion.

SHOOTING PARTIES.—It is no exaggeration to say that the advent of an official shooting party is considered a scourge, and the following are a few of the reasons why this is so. Officials in districts may and do seize men and carts for various purposes—to bring in wood, grass, fodder, for cattle, and collection of supplies, etc., their services are not usually paid for, as *rasad* is supposed to be supplied by the zemindar, and were they paid, it would by no means compensate them for the loss of time and inconvenience occasioned by their compulsory withdrawal from their homes and ordinary occupations. Further the villagers are impressed to work for the large retinue of the official shooting party, who often take their *amla* with them, supplies are demanded and must be produced or the *Hakims amla* are displeased and the villagers have to bear the brunt of their displeasure; these and many other evils have been accentuated by the existing shooting rules—framed ostensibly for forest (fire) conservancy, and have led to the depopulation of villages in sparsely settled tracts near forests. Only an independent commission which could guarantee immunity from harm to witnesses, could prove the accuracy of the above statements, and realise the extent to which the evils set forth exist. The sufferers fear to complain, for obvious reasons, and as shown by the diminution of population in certain districts, cultivators emigrate rather than continue to suffer. The zemindar cannot emigrate but is a great loser. As it is difficult, if not impossible, to replace men once driven away, this leads to a reduction in cultivation and a consequent loss to Government. These facts may not be generally known to the outside world, and will probably come as a surprise to many, but are well known to those who, as non-officials have mixed with the people and having an intimate knowledge of them and their ways, have learnt *where the shoe pinches*.*

OUR "SYSTEM." (*United India*).—Mr. S. S. Thorburn's remarkable address to the Fabian Society in London cannot but produce a new turn in the growth of public opinion in England regarding the grievances of British India. His conclusions, though based on different premises from those of Mr. Naoroji and his party, are even more alarming than those of the latter. The impression created on his hearers at the conclusion of the address was well expressed by Mr. Bernard

* It will scarcely be believed, (but we saw it ourselves) that on an occasion of a Superintendent of Police and a friend going on a hunt, several hundred villagers were dragged away from their homes from some twenty villages around and compelled to act as beaters, etc., on a starvation allowance of some grain. For nearly a fortnight they were thus used!—**ED., C. R.**

Shaw, who said that he had till then suspected Mr. Hyndman of being guilty of exaggerated pessimism, but after hearing Mr. Thorburn he should regard Mr. Hyndman as a culpable apologist of the Government of India. "The root cause of the increasing poverty and self-helplessness of the Indian peoples may be most comprehensively expressed by the term our "system." "More than half the agriculturists of British India—a few favored localities excepted—are now in about as miserable a plight as human beings not officially designated slaves or serfs can be." "To the sympathetic discernment of the disinterested statesman—the man who considers producers as well as production—India contains not one atom but three hundred millions of units, each a struggling atom of humanity, lying prostrate and bleeding under the wheels of the Jagannath car called progress on Western lines." "Behind all is the discouraging fact that for more than seventy millions of the sufferers it is too late for any change of system to be beneficial." Such is the fierce indictment of a retired officer of Government who held high and responsible posts and had exceptional opportunities of studying our agrarian problems! Mr. Naoroji or Mr. Dutt never said anything more alarming or more sweeping in his denunciation of the British rule in India. No matter what are the exact causes that have contributed to the condition of India as described by Mr. Thorburn, is it not fearful enough to call forth in the minds of statesmen responsible for the good Government and the contentment of India the gravest anxiety followed by an immediate, most minute and comprehensive enquiry into the causes of the evils and their remedy? The rulers maintain that these pessimistic conclusions are unwarranted by facts; but it is just possible they may be founded on facts, and if it were so, let us imagine in what terms history will record its verdict on the failure of nearly two centuries of British rule, the most unique, the most colossal experiment in the Government of a distant subject country of any recorded in the annals of Time.

*It was perhaps Mr. Thorburn's object to discredit the theories of Indian reformers in regard to the impoverishment of India, though in effect he gives them the strongest support possible. "In my opinion," he says, "it is not the tribute, not the weight of the land tax, not the salt duty, not England's commercial policy, which are chiefly responsible for the pauperisation of rural India. All these causes may be contributing factors; some certainly are; but the root cause of the *increasing poverty and self-helplessness* of the Indian people may be most appropriately expressed by the term "our system." It is not denied by Mr. Thorburn that the tribute on the one hand and the excessive taxation of the producing classes have each a

share in the result, but he virtually *adds* other causes, thus immensely aggravating the British rulers' failure to truly grasp and fully discharge their awful responsibility. Indeed the situation has been rendered by a long series of errors and misdeeds so desperate that Mr. Thorburn gives up all hope of retrieval, the only course now open being for the British rulers to declare frankly that they did not mean to govern India primarily for India's good, but entirely for the good of England, and that whenever England's interests call for a sacrifice of India, she will not hesitate to do so ! Mr. Thorburn knows as well as others perfectly well to what calamitous results such a radical and perverse change of the policy that underlies, at all events in theory, the whole British overlordship in India, will bring about to England as well as to India. To pet and pat the colonies, to hug them in fond fraternal embrace may, for the moment, be a piece of sagacious statesmanship ; but, India lost to England, England would sink into the status of Holland in the world's international comity. . . .

We content ourselves to-day with a notice of Mr. Thorburn's conclusions, reserving for another week our criticism of his views on the question of the tribute, on land assessments, and industry, and on other contributory factors to India's economical condition. But to one passage in the concluding part of his address we feel tempted to draw attention this week. The passage is : " Two important Native States in India, Alwar and Bhurtpore, have recently been settled by a civilian friend of mine. The lands of many of the villages in those States are interlaced with those of villages in British territory. All the peasantry are of the same brotherhood or tribe Meos. The only difference is that those belonging to Alwar and Bhurtpore pay acre for acre about double as much land revenue as their brethren inside our boundary lines. Under these circumstances, peasantry, production, quality of soil, sources of water supply, in short, all the conditions of agriculture being identical, it would be reasonable to suppose that our Meos would be more prosperous and contented than those who are so much heavier taxed in Alwar and Bhurtpore. The exact contrary is the case. Our Meos are indebted partially expropriated, and utterly miserable in the grip of the money-lenders and of our 'system.' On the other hand, their brethren in Alwar and Bhurtpore, though poor, are unindebted, the sole right-holders in their villages, and each village is still a vigorous self-governing community. I do not instance this case as a plea for high assessments, but as proof of my assertion that until our system is thoroughly reformed, adapted to the wants, circumstances, and capacities of people who in worldly wisdom are still children and consequently should be treated as children and

not as business men, the lighter the rating on land the easier the road to ruin." What a commentary on the elaborate and scientifically constructed machinery of British rule !

THE SEVEN BULERS OF INDIA, AND VILLAGE PANCHAYATS. (*East and West*).—Such, my Lord, are the laws passed in India of the immemorial village communes—in India where the king, whether he was a Hindu or a Mahomedan, left the people almost perfect autonomy in their villages—in India where the cultivator, formerly used to a single master, good, bad or indifferent, has now at least seven mercenary and venal masters,—the police constable, the revenue Talati, the forest guard, the irrigation darogah, the civil court bailiff, the salt patrol and the abkari patrol.

My Lord, had the English trusted and maintained the village communes, the spectacle now so familiar of departments armed to the teeth with penal laws against a disarmed populace—the spectacle of the abject poverty of four-fifths, if not more, of the whole population—the spectacle of Commission after Commission failing to solve the famine problems—the spectacle of multitudinous enactments and hydra-headed rules, unintelligible and unproclaimed to the masses, would never have saddened those whose hearts are sympathetic, like yours, or caused so many searchings of heart in Government after Government. Our heredity and our history were both forgotten when our rulers resorted to a form of administration which has almost crushed the village communes and saddled the rural poor with the seven masters aforesaid. The Bombay Government even go so far as to say that the old village organisation is now non-existent, but they do not care to say why it is so. The *Times of India*, the leading paper in the Bombay Presidency, called this admission, my Lord, a *damning* one, and it truly said that no worse indictment of the Bombay Revenue system could well be brought forward. I go further, for I say that the admission is not only an indictment of that department, but of every one of the departments represented by the seven masters of the rural poor ; for all the seven departments have, consciously or unconsciously, co-operated in disintegrating the old village polity. Do you want to legislate for the people of India, or for the English-knowing fraction of the people of India ? If for the former, then enact a simple panchayat law, have lists of good men made, instead of bad, in all rural parts, consult them and trust them, and spend a part of the money you now waste on the unpopular civil courts in the mofussil (unpopular owing to your system and not on account of the judges) in organising the old village communes and the old panchayats. They are not wholly dead, thank God ; and if you show patience, and if you persevere you

will be able to take up the old genetic, historic, evolutionary thread, and most of the difficult problems which now face you will be solved. You will be able to reduce expenditure—you will be able to have bodies of men upon whom you can rely during famine—you can have efficient co-operative credit societies—you can simplify the administration by cutting at the very root of the evil—you can give very long leave to your Legal Member.

The rural poor say that they are governed by *lawyers*, not by *statesmen*—that instead of being treated as children of the Sircar and taught gently and lovingly how to conform to the wishes of the Sircar, they are at every step threatened with pains and penalties—penalties for removing salt-earth—penalties for even removing sand or gravel without license—penalties for ferrying, or plying boats without a license—penalties even for fishing in pools on waste lands—penalties for cultivating bhang—penalties for extracting toddy—penalties for cutting even dead trees—and penalties for any number of other acts which they never knew were offences. Their old lights, by which they can understand the Penal Code offences without reading the Penal Code, are of no use to them in such matters, and extortion of bribes from them is thus the easiest thing in the world. You have only to tell them that the Sircar has passed a new law under which they cannot use rainwater without a previous license, and they will believe you. They thought the land was theirs; but they are told it is not. They thought the sub-soil water was theirs; but they are told of leakage and percolation rates. The old lights have failed them so often that they no longer trust to them for guidance in regulating their actions in relation to the Sircar.*

The King's Coronation (*Indian Mirror*).—We have protested against the wasteful expenditure of Government in diverse directions—an expenditure not justified even by a "Prosperity Budget." Only a little while ago, we entered our *caveat* against the Coronation Durbar and all its attendant paraphernalia, the total of which is likely to be above rather than under a crore of rupees. This crore would be more beneficently spent for the benefit of starving Indians, whose number, officially stated, is about three quarters of a million. The situation demands strong language, but we studiously refrain.

And, finally, this from *South India* :—On the wet lands the cool population is finding some work in the ragi and paddy

* It will be seen from the above, that it reiterates, with fullness* of illustration, what we ourselves had stated in a previous issue, that the village communes should be fully constituted, with the principle of representation and their own powers. Without this there will be no reform or improvement.—ED., C. R.

fields, at planting and weeding, but there is no work to be had on the dry lands, so the great bulk of the lower classes is still unemployed. The people are, however, going in large numbers to Kurnool District where harvest operations have begun. Some get work, others after a tramp of forty or fifty miles find work unobtainable and have to beg their way home as best they can. Many of the poorer people are showing very evident signs of emaciation. Among a number of Panchama school boys whom I examined lately, only a few were in anything like fair condition. The aged and infirm are suffering acutely as the people are too hard up to give the customary doles. I have heard from one or two villages of poor old folk, who in better times lived by begging, gradually becoming weaker and weaker, until at last though there was no appearance of disease, they were found dead by the neighbours. The numbers of those being fed at the kitchens in Jammalamadugu and Proddatur tend to increase, but of course these only provide for a limited number of persons who live in the neighbourhood of the taluq towns. Owing to the difficulty of earning even a pittance, most of the coolies have left the Peddapasupula work. At Chintakunta, where the conditions are not quite so hard, the numbers are increasing. Able-bodied men who work specially hard can earn an anna and a half daily; others make from nine pies to an anna. In spite of this miserable low wage there are about 950 coolies on the works. The tests laid down in the Famine Code are evidently not considered sufficiently strict, for under the impression, I suppose, that people look on a hard day's work as something in the nature of recreation, an order has been issued to make most careful enquiry into the condition of the coolies and turn off all who possess land or have any other means of earning a livelihood. No one is to be admitted without a certificate from the Reddi of his village, and this certificate is to be checked by a Revenue Inspector! As the coolies are being employed on a productive work, which, when completed, will not only immensely benefit the neighbourhood but will bring in large returns to Government, this excessive caution is hard to understand, especially when one considers the lowness of the rates given. It looks as if the sole aim were to prove somehow or other the non-existence of any real distress. Cholera of a virulent type is very prevalent in the northern and western parts of the District. The fact that so many of the poorer classes are wandering from place to place makes it very hard to prevent its spread.

We conclude this sub-section, which may be regarded by some as the most valuable portion of our Quarter's review, and which will prove a revelation to our numerous readers at Home, both in the House of Commons and others. There is the usual

heavy tale of utter lawlessness, coupled with police inefficiency, of armed men ill-treating both a native judge and his wife and carrying off all their valuable property, of series of robberies (*brigandage*) in Mysore "by gangs coming from British territory" (1), of professional gangs of poisoners in Bombay and elsewhere, of depôts in the great cities for the sale of young girls brought in from the country for the purpose, and so on—as also a lady-traveller writing: "We, like many others, had thought that *Thuggee* was extinct, but our host told us that it was still considered a profession possessing great capabilities, and offering good opportunities of which a rising youth might avail himself for getting on in the world—tigers and bears are by no means the only, or the worst, dangers to be encountered in a journey through the jungle," but we forbear to inflict any further when the Carnival of India is on—only observing that Nemesis is sure to follow—a heavy retribution.

Before we close this section, we may glance at our contention that Native Titles of dignity and honour be set on a definite basis, as regards the words used in connection with them, and the plan of the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

As regards the first, there is a broad and fundamental distinction between ruling chiefs and princes, and mere landholders, and yet we find the title of "His Highness" applied equally to both! The same may be said in regard to the words "Nawab," "Maharajah" and "Rajah." And considering how many hundreds of petty (and even landless) "Nawabs" and the others there are whom we have created, the confusion reigning may be imagined. There are, we believe, a score of such "Nawabs" in Meerut and Patna alone; and as for the others—"Maharajahs" and "Rajahs," there must be over a hundred such—or *who call themselves such*—in Bengal alone! We have said, "who call themselves such", for, though these Bengal titles are, as Sir John Woodburn stated on the occasion of his last function in granting titles, "honorary," and hence of course confined to the recipient, they are carried on as *hereditary*!

In the midst of all this three things are clear:—

1. The title of "His Highness" should only be reserved for ruling chiefs and princes.

2. The honorary titles of "Nawab," "Maharajah" and "Rajah" should be considered as ceasing and determining on the decease of their holders, and the papers conferring them should be returned to Government, the titles not being used by the successors till renewed by Government.

3. Some distinction should be made between ruling Nawabs and Rajahs and honorary and titular ones besides the words

"His Highness," and this can be effected either by the word "Honorary" (contracted to "Hony.") being prefixed to the latter, or territorial title being withheld from being added to their names. We should thus have, for instance, H. H. the Nawab of Bahawulpore, H. H. the Nawab of Muler Kotla, H. H. the Nawab of Rampore, and so on, for the ruling chiefs and princes; and merely Hony. Nawab Abdul Aziz, and so on, or simply Nawab Abdul Aziz, without the addition of name of town or district to whatever place they may belong from Peshawar to Dacca. The same rule would hold as regards our Honorary Rajahs and Maharajahs.

These are plain and intelligible distinctions, quite due and just, and would be understood even outside of India.

While we write thus, it is quite possible that Government already recognises these distinctions—still, a reminder may be necessary in the shape of a Supreme Government Resolution, which may serve to draw uninformed and careless press-writers, and even the vast majority of officials into line.

Bengal would thus have only the Nawab of Moorshedabad, the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, and the Maharajah of Tipperah—besides, it may, some few as Sirgajah, Oodeypur, and others in Chota Nagpore—territorially titled and "His Highness" prefixed. And Nawabs Amir Hossein, Salimullah, Rajahs so and so be styled "Hony." Nawabs or Rajahs so and so, without "of Calcutta" or "Dacca" or "Bhowal," or "Mymensing," or "Patna," etc., added. The Maharajah Sri so and so who owns the Durbhunga estate would thus no longer figure as "H. H. the Maharajah of Durbhunga"—which makes him sometimes forget (see *Pioneer*) that he is not one of the "princes" of India—nor so many other "Rajahs" and "Nawabs" appear in colours not their own, and impose on the ignorant public both here and at home. In no other country in the world would such confusion as at present exists in India in the matter of titles be allowed even for a day; and it is due alike to the princes and peoples of India, as to Government itself, that the distinctions we have indicated above should be rigidly insisted on.

In regard to the "Redemption" of the Permanent Settlement, the very words we use will show what may be done. It can only be done by two persons that we know of—Lord Curzon and Sir Anthony McDonnell. We have already said (in our previous number) that it is not a confiscatory measure, but recognises to the full all real and supposed rights. It will also help to improve Bengal, and raise the character of its people, while doing justice to India, and largely adding to the profit and revenues of Government. As we have little space to spare at present, we shall let the thing lie over to

our next, when we may treat it in greater detail. The New Province of "Curzon" also remains over.

INDIAN PRINCES, STATES, *etc.*—With the exception of the Panna Rajah's deposition, about which we shall remark last, there is little to be said here save that most of the Chiefs and Princes are busy about going to England to be present at the Coronation of King Edward VII, or preparing for the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi to come off later on. H. H. the Maharajah of Jeypur has, we believe, already left for England, in a steamer chartered by himself. H. H. the Nawab of Bahawulpore has fallen ill, but others of the Chiefs and Princes who have been invited are going at once.

The Myore Durbar has called for detailed reports regarding the condition of the various Agricultural Banks in the State with a view to the adoption of such steps as may be necessary to safeguard their interests. His Excellency P. N. Kistna Moorthi, C.I.E., has been confirmed as permanent Dewan of the State. The Maharajah will be installed by the Viceroy on the 8th August—herein, too, Lord Curzon manifesting his great governing virtues and personality.

H. H. the Guicowad of Baroda has sent his two young Princes, Jaisingrao and Dhariasingrao, off to England by the mail steamer *Victoria*. The Princes were sent in charge of Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwar, the Maharajah's brother, who will see to their schooling and generally superintend their education. His Highness the Guicowad is also, it is stated, about to make primary education compulsory in his State. The newest American methods, too, of primary education are being introduced.

The following is a press *communiqué* which has been issued in connection with the Imperial (Lord Curzon's) Cadet Corps :—

Since the sanction of His Majesty the King-Emperor and of the Secretary of State was received to the creation of the Imperial Cadet Corps, measures have been actively proceeding for its constitution and commencement. Colonel Maharaj-Dhiraj Sir Partab Singh, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., of Jodhpur, has accepted the position of Honorary Commandant of the Corps. Major W. A. Watson, Central India Horse, lately a Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General for Instruction, has been appointed Commandant, and the remaining officers are, British. Adjutant, Captain D. Cameron, Central India Horse, recently guardian to the Nawab of Jaora; Native Adjutant, Takur Dip Singh, Commandant of the Bikaner Camel Corps. Out of the large number of applicants for admission from all parts of India, the Viceroy has selected the following as the first batch of cadets. The list comprises the names of those who have accepted the Viceroy's invitation up to date :—His Highness the Maharajah of Jodhpur; His Highness the Maharajah of Kishangarh; His Highness the Nawab of Jaora; His Highness the Rajah of Rutlam; Bharat Singh, cousin of the Raja of Rutlam; Kumar Shri Ram Singhji, son of the Thakur of Virpur in Kathiawar; Zorawar Singhji

of Bhavnagar; Rajah Samundar Singh, of Weir, in Bharatpur; Kunwar Kumsu Singh, of Kota; Kunwar Deo Singh, of Kota; Kunwar Jawahir Singh, of Jasalmeer; Kunwar Pratap Singh, of Kama, in Jaipur; Kunwah Sardar Singh, second son of the Rajah of Shapura; Sahibzada Amanat-ulla Khan, of Tonk; Amar Singh, son of Kunwar Naram Singh, of Jalpur; Basant Singh, of the Atari family, in the Amritsar District of the Punjab; Nawab Wah-ud-din, son of the Nawab Sir Vikar-ul Umra, K.C.I.E., of Hyderabad. It will be observed that this list includes the names of four ruling Chiefs, namely, the Maharajah of Jodhpur, the Maharajah of Kishangarh, the Nawab of Jaora, and the Rajah of Rutlam—all of whom expressed a strong desire to be admitted to the Corps. Even if their period of training be not extended to the full term, and if some relaxation be required in the rules in the interests of the duties that may devolve upon a ruling Chief in connection with civil administration, it has not been thought advisable to exclude from the benefits of the scheme young Chiefs of the requisite age and qualifications who may desire to profit by them. The remainder of the selected candidates have been chosen from princely or aristocratic families in all parts of India, and the large majority have been educated at one of the Chiefs Colleges of Rajkot, Ajmere, Lahore, and Indore. Education at one or other of these Colleges will, it is understood, with very rare exceptions, be made the basis of future selection; and it is in contemplation by the Viceroy to introduce such modifications into the organisation and curriculum of the Colleges as will better enable them to fulfil this object. It appears doubtful whether, as at present administered, they have fully corresponded to the design of their founders, while they have not in every case earned the complete confidence of the classes for whose benefit they were instituted. It is the intention of the Viceroy to take up this question, in consultation with the Local Governments and with the heads of the Colleges, during the forthcoming Calcutta season, and to introduce such reforms or reorganisation as may be found necessary. If the Chiefs Colleges are to be a trustworthy and successful recruiting ground for the Imperial Cadet Corps, it is clear that they must attract the full sympathies and support of the princely and aristocratic families of India, and must provide a preliminary training that will qualify their pupils for the military duties of the Corps, not less than for such occupations and interests as may concern those sons of Chiefs and Nobles who intend to pursue civil avocations in the future. The winter camp of the Imperial Cadet Corps is now being arranged at Meerut, and the first course of instruction will be proceeded with there during the coming cold weather. The Government have undertaken to provide each of the cadets with a charger. The number of horses or ponies and personal attendants whom the cadets are at liberty to bring with them, has been narrowly limited; the living in the camp will be simple, and the discipline strict. The closest attention will be paid to caste rules; and the entire course of instruction, which will combine drill, riding, and out-of-door military exercises with suitable indoor instruction, will be so designed as to enable the pick of the cadets in time to take their places as British officers, while never losing the character and bearing of Indian gentlemen. When on duty and during instruction, the cadets will wear a simple uniform, and on ceremonial or State occasions they will wear a state uniform, which is in course of being designed. It is likely that they will be inspected by the Viceroy on his way to the North-West Frontier in April next; while they will doubtless form a conspicuous feature in his escort at the Proclamation Durbar at Delhi on January 1st, 1903.

Lord Curzon has supervised every detail connected with the constitution and organisation of the Corps, and it is known to be his opinion that in the personal interest of the Viceroy of the time being will be found one of the most effective guarantees of future success. At the close of the winter's training at Meerut the Corps will be moved to Dehra Dun, where quarters will be provided for it by Government during the summer, and where a similar course of outdoor and indoor instruction will be pursued. This also will be the leave season of the year. Examinations will be conducted from time to time by the Commandant to test the progress of the cadets and their aptitude for more advanced courses; and throughout the object that will be in the mind of the Government and that should never be lost sight of by the cadets themselves and their families will be not to provide them, mainly at the expense of the State, with an agreeable and complimentary pastime, but to enable them, if they aspire to the rank and title of officers in the Imperial Army, to undergo the discipline and the training which are the indispensable preliminaries to the attainment of commissioned rank in every army in the world.

Finally, in regard to the Panna Case, the Governor-General in Council has decreed, on the evidence submitted, the Maharajah guilty of conspiring the death by poison of his late uncle, and has accordingly ordered his deposition and internment. We have been very careful to follow all the evidence and proceedings from the commencement, and with our extended and intimate knowledge of over half a century of India, the natives and native Courts—as well as some knowledge of law—we say:—

1. That the proof of poisoning as the cause of the death is not made out. The dog to whom the meat was administered did not die. Acche Lal bought strychnine, but the finding gives arsenic as the cause of the death! Even expert European medical testimony showed that the symptoms may have been those of sunstroke, joined with perhaps a choleraic attack. There is absolutely no proof of death due to poisoning.

2. Nor is there any proof of the administration of any poison.

3. There were a number of suspicious circumstances, all, however, quite consistent with the Maharajah's innocence and just what one in his place would do.

The only judgment *possible* in his case to arrive at, is that, on his return and learning the news and reports, he may have *then* suspected—himself only suspected—that it *may* have been a case of poisoning. All his subsequent proceedings agree and are consistent with this.

As for the conduct of several of the parties very nearly brought in connection with the case, of disposing of strychnine and then obliterating the entry, unable to decide at first whether it was a case of poisoning or not, rushing up

and spreading about, and all over the country the report of poisoning,—we pass over our comments.

The deposition has been decreed, and probably the Governor-General in Council had no option given of either to revise the proceedings, or of disagreeing with the finding of the specially-constituted "Court."

We are perfectly sure that the case would have had a different termination had it been tried before the High Court at Allahabad or Calcutta.

In any case, the thing has been done, and we don't know that—it being called a "political" case, there is any appeal to the Privy Council at home. A "political" case should be strictly a political case—this was a purely criminal case and justice was concerned.

In our opinion *such* cases—not really political—when coming within British authority, should be tried before a jury of the peers of the chief or prince; or, failing them, of three High Court judges with two native princes as Assessors; and, always admit of an appeal to the Privy Council. (The princes of the Empire are virtually members of the House of Lords and of the Privy Council.) We believe we have not said one word more than what is demanded, though we might have said a great deal more. Our view about the necessary "court" also safeguards the British Government. Whole books may be written on the case from its numerous points of view. The following is an expression of opinion by the *Bengali* :—

"The conviction of a Feudatory Prince of the Empire on a charge of murder is a very serious matter, and once again we have to express the regret that the Government did not think fit to associate a peer of the Maharajah with the Commission as one of his judges. However that may be, the proceedings lend countenance to the observation which we made when the Commission was appointed that the trial was political rather than judicial. It was a political trial, tempered by judicial methods, and as such, it is attended with serious inconveniences which inspire a sense of uneasiness in the public mind."

The "impressions" created by the Maharajah before the "Court," is a mere trifling with the case, and entirely beside the question—and also shows an utter ignorance of natives, or we may say of any one when confronted with a charge of poisoning, and the loss of name and territory.

•RELIGION.—An "Indian Christian," writing on the subject of marriage with a Deceased Wife's sister, says :—

1. In the Diocese of Sidney, New South Wales, parties contracting this marriage are not excluded from Holy Communion; the celebration of such a marriage is left, by the Church of England, to the option of the Clergy, and cases have been known in which such marriages have been celebrated by Church of England Clergymen.
2. In Auckland, New Zealand, the parties are not excluded from Holy Communion

3. The Archbishop of the West Indies writes that such parties are liable to censure but not to permanent exclusion from Holy Communion.

4. In Natal no Clergyman of any Church has the power to refuse to marry such parties.

5. In the Diocese of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, there is no ecclesiastical penalty of any kind.

6. In the Diocese of Perth, Western Australia, the same.

7. The Bishop of Japan writes that there is no fixed penalty there.

8. The Presbyterian Church in America has removed the prohibition of such marriages.

9. The Presbyterian Church in Canada has adopted the same course.

10. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States has removed the prohibition.

11. Tyndale, Martin Luther, Bunyan, Wesley, and Spurgeon have all expressed themselves against the prohibition.

12. Archbishops Tait and Whateley, and Bishops Bickersteth, Lee, Philport, Thirlwall, Perowne, etc., have declared themselves in favour of the abolition of the prohibition.

13. Gladstone, Bright, Tennyson, Austin, Lowell, Lord Kelvin, Max Müller, Dowden, Sayce, etc., etc., have been against the prohibition.

14. A Bishop of England writes, "I have always felt excommunication was far too tremendous a visitation for such a breach of the law, and I could never countenance it."

15. The Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand, writes, "I have admitted them (such parties) to Holy Communion, and I shall continue to do so."

16. The Table of Kindred and Affinity does not form an authoritative part of the Book of Common Prayer and does not appear in the "sealed" copy of it.

Yet we agree with the Bishop of Madras so far as that he is ecclesiastically right, and right from an English (and higher) point of view. Still, what may be right thus, may not suit India.

The report of the Fulham Conference on confession and absolution is published. The Conference, though differing on some important points, are agreed that private confession and absolution cannot be shown to have existed for some centuries after the foundation of the Christian Church.

The Pope has addressed a long Encyclical to the Catholic Episcopate which he describes as almost his testament. After condemning modern materialism, it affirms that all moral and political disorders are due to the decay of religious sentiment. Society, he says, will find its salvation only in a return to the Church which is sure to finally triumph. He concludes by enjoining the clergy to refrain from politics and render obedience to the Holy See.

The natives themselves are now everywhere crying out for special religious instruction being allowed in Government schools!

According to Mr. Mackenzie, British Resident in Travancore, one-fifth of the people of Travancore are Christians. The percentage to school-going population is—

			Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Hindus	...	...	42'3	11'3	26 7
Christians	...	...	55'8	24'79	40'3

It is unfortunate that separate percentages are not available for Nairs and Tamil Brahmins. But the figures appeared to show conclusively that as regards education, the Christians form the leading community. It should be noted in passing that there are proportionately more Christians reading in Colleges outside Travancore, and that the grand total, which includes unaided schools, is more likely to have left out Christian unaided schools than Hindu ones. Hence we may say roughly that the number of literate Christians is about the same as that of Nairs and several times the number of Tamil Brahmins. In English general education the Christians seem to outnumber both the Nairs and the Brahmins; while in higher education they are at least equal. If these figures give a fair test of the state of education of the three communities, it follows that if Government had been treating the community steadily with fairness, there should be about one Christian employed to every Nair or Brahmin in service. In other words, the proportion of Christians holding appointments other than menial, say, carrying a salary of Rs. 15 and upwards, might be as much as one in three and should not be less than one in four. The figures for the other communities are small and may be safely left out of account. What, however, are the facts? The Report is silent as to the caste of the men in Government service, but we get an inkling of the condition of things from paragraph 442 of the Report, wherein it is seen that out of a total of twenty-four Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors of Schools only one is a Christian. This solitary guardian of 54,000 school-goers of his ilk is stated in the previous paragraph to have been appointed quite recently. It is not stated that he is the first of his kind that has ever got in among the twenty-four. The same percentage will be found to hold good in some other Departments also. In the Revenue Department, which is far and away the most important, no Christian may enter. The Medical Department is perhaps the only one where there is a fair show of Christians, but that is because others were not available. Taking all Departments together, and not leaving out the Revenue, the proportion of Christians is not likely to be more than one to fifteen, and might probably be less.

Sir Charles Elliot writes to the *Times*:—You were good enough to insert in your issue of the 9th November a letter

from me containing the Census results as to the number of Christians in those parts of India, for which the statistics had then been tabulated. I have now received from Mr. H. H. Risley, the Imperial Census Commissioner, the figures for the entire continent, except the Bombay Presidency and Burma; and I trust you will consider that the importance of the results justifies you in publishing this information for the benefit of the large number of people who are deeply interested in Missionary progress:—

Province.	No of Christians in	
	1891.	1901.
Punjab	53,909	71,864
Baluchistan	3,008	4,026
North-West Provinces	59,518	102,955
Bengal	192,484	278,366
Andamans and Nicobars	483	482
Assam	16,844	35,969
Central Provinces	13,368	25,571
Central India Agency	5,999	8,114
Rajputana Agency	1,855	2,840
Ajmere and Merwara	2,683	3,712
Baroda	646	7,691
Berar	1,359	2,375
Hyderabad	20,429	23,363
Madras	1,580,179	1,934,480
Total	1,952,704	2,501,808

We may consider the increase as having occurred almost entirely among natives; and that increase amounts to about 550,000 souls, or about 30 per cent.—more than four times the growth of the whole population. In the Punjab it is over 33 per cent., in the North-West Provinces 75 per cent., in Bengal 45 per cent., in Assam 120 per cent., in the Central Provinces nearly 100 per cent., in Madras 20 per cent.

We have said above that the native organs of opinion are themselves now calling for “religious” instruction in schools. That even the better educated Hindus, however, when they see any Christianity telling against them, are as blindly fanatic as the most ignorant member of their community may be seen from the Editor of the *Hindu*—supposed to be an “educated” and enlightened native gentleman—getting into almost a white heat of passion at the Hon’ble Mr. Smeaton’s late deliverance at a Sunday School Meeting, not less than the *Arya* proposing to send Hindu Missionaries to convert Christians and otherwise blindly railing against Christianity! The following very temperate and true letter, also, sent to the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*—which had been casting jibes at Native Christians and Missions—was refused publication—that Editor being, as we know, one of the highest educated Bengalees in the Province:—“You will permit me, both

as a Christian, and in common fairness, to reply to your diatribes against the Rev. Dr. P., and to combat your idea that India is not becoming Christianised. I have not the Rev. Dr.'s acquaintance, or of his work which you notice. You say that there is no result of Christian Missions in India, or of the possibility of such result.

There are two replies :—

1. The most earnest seekers after spiritual light, who are willing in the purity and strength of their convictions to sacrifice all earthly considerations for Christ—and it is such alone that Christ calls (see his own words—are daily, in one place or another, in ones and twos—for moral heroes are rare—turning to find their full salvation in Him. It is these earnest souls who are the real salt, strength, and stamina of the nation. When these have all been gathered into the Christian Church, the rest of the wavering and careless, even though in the vast majority, will follow as a matter of course. As I have said, many are daily turning to Christ, and it is a fact, especially in Madras, that you do not know in meeting a native, who is a Christian and who is not; and also, that a large proportion of such Christians are occupying respectable positions in life. Do you deny this?

2. A great many non-Christian Hindus believe in Christ more or less. I know of "orthodox Brahmins" who believe in Him as their own Saviour. There may be a peculiar Hindu Oriental Church evolved from within. Do you deny this?

The day that sees Hindus embracing the pure and holy religion of JESUS, will mark not only the renovation of Hindu nature and of India, but will end at once the now vexed questions of Arms Acts, etc., and will really make—what is now a mere phrase—the Hindus a *nation*.

In conclusion, it is true—and I notice it with sorrow—that whereas the earlier Missionaries of Christ were earnest *preaching* men, striving to bring guilt-burdened souls to the Redeemer of the world, the present race of Missionaries are mostly *educationists*. The former gained souls, and established the native Christian Church. There is not a word of secular "education" mentioned in our Scriptures. The Christian scheme of Redemption appeals to the spiritual and not intellectual side of man,—it has to do with Guilt and Purity before God, and not a knowledge of algebra and physics or the Matriculation Examination. So that it is possible that the futility of Missions, of which you speak, may be due to our Missionaries themselves."

It is possible, when writing in our last, that we misunderstood the Rev. Protab Chunder Mozoomdar's words about adapting Christianity to Hinduised thought. His own words

—delivered in the Town Hall of Calcutta to nearly 600 English-speaking natives—are :—

"Rationalism is the creed of Reason. When ancient faiths decline reason sweeps away their old doctrines and raises its own standard. Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason," though much decried, had some justification for the religion of his day had degenerated into superstition. Rationalism has appeared in connection with every form of religion. In India Sakymoni was the first rationalist, or perhaps the writer of the Upanishads and subsequent schools, who present us with virtually the same conflict as that which divided the Greek and Roman Churches. In the early Christian Church we find the Gnostics and the Alexandrians, but St. Paul himself was the first Christian rationalist; and the spirit of persecution which assailed him is the same spirit of religious intolerance as appears centuries afterwards, in the Spanish Inquisition, and even in Calvin and Melancthon, when they consented to the death of Servetus. Again, the Protestantism which spread in Germany, Holland, England and Scotland in the sixteenth century, dividing the Church into numerous sects that give no promise of agreement, was but Rationalism dealing with the corruptions and superstitions of the religious world. But while Reason has its inalienable rights and while its achievements in science and philosophy and all departments of human enquiry cannot be denied, it has, like every other great power, its abuses and extravagances. Only it is not then Reason, but un-Reason, or, at best, Reason's pale shadow. When, with confidence in its own sufficiency, it deals with matters for which it is incompetent apart from Revelation, we hear of such strange paradoxes as Religion without a God or immortality; a Trinity without Father, Son, or Holy Ghost; an immortality which, whatever it does mean, does not mean the soul's survival of the body. In the darkness and perplexity which arises, men throw away their old doctrines; they disown their prophets and teachers, and betake themselves to any manufacture of metaphysical faith that is presented to them; and we see the deified thought of man embody itself in new schools of religion, new churches, new religious exercises, and new institutions. Religion is thus cast adrift on a sea without a shore. Religious thought was in such a chaos when Christianity appeared. It taught that man must surrender his own independent reason to a higher light. The human intellect in itself is too feeble an instrument to analyse the relations between God and man; its few octaves cannot fathom the harmony of the union of the human and divine. It is only the Spirit of God in man that can solve intellectual perplexities. All great religions are worthy of respect and reverence, but none has had such a marvellous development as Christianity, which has, more than any other influence, changed the face of the world, its manners and customs, its institutions, its social economics; it has enfranchised the slave, raised woman to a position of honour, taken care of orphans and made men of them, imparted education, fed the famine-stricken, given medicine and healing to the sick, and sent its Missionaries to every corner of the earth. Innumerable are the philanthropies of which the Church of Christ is the mother. Great progress has also been made in religious conceptions. Early in the last century an eminent writer on the History of Civilization denied this. "Men believe in God still," he says, "and in immortality; but their beliefs are much the same as they were ages ago." This is not so. The anthropomorphic tyrant who punished and destroyed,—the Lord of Hosts, whom Rudyard Kipling writes of still as a kind of champion of Imperialism, has given place to the Father of men. The Chinese Hell with its tortures,

and the Mahomedan Heaven with its dancing-houris, and all the sensuous enjoyments of this world (not forgetting the *hookah*) have given place to the Christian Future of holiness and the nearer vision of God. Nevertheless Christianity is not Christ. He is the organism, Christianity the evolution; but the evolution is incomplete. The essence of Christianity is the personal character of Christ, and it is not to be wondered at that the church, with all its past triumphs, still presents a very imperfect copy of that character. Instead she presents us with uncompromising metaphysical doctrines with which Indians cannot make any headway, an arbitrary justification, an arbitrary election, an arbitrary consignment of three-fourths of mankind to hell.* The worship of Christ as Almighty God is another stumbling-block. This worship had led to the worship of His Mother and of saints and of symbols and signs, so that in France and Italy one cannot draw a line between popular Christianity and popular Hinduism. We are confronted with an infallible church, or an infallible book, with ecclesiastical courts and evangelical unions; with Rituals and protests against Rituals. Still Christ's spirit is in the history of Christianity, the civilization of Christianity, the Politics and Government of Christianity; it is in our late beloved Empress's Proclamation; it is in the motives of the British Government; and it will yet teach Municipalities that money should not to be extorted from a pauperised population. Such is the comprehensiveness of the Spirit of Christ. But if Christianity is to prevail in India, it must be Hinduised. It is as ridiculous for Orientals to put on the theological garb of the West as it would be for Europeans to turn Orientals. Under all external changes the Oriental remains an Oriental, and the European a European to the end, as they ought. Their work of presenting Christianity to Hindus in an intelligible form is the work of the Brahmo Somaj. The Somaj are blamed by their own countrymen for what they say about Christ. The church praises them when they express their honour and reverence for Him; it encourages them and patronisingly tells them they are not far from the Kingdom of Heaven, but when they show any reverence for the great examples of their own land, immediately they are told of the lurking heathenism that still survives in their souls. But Hindus can only accept the Spirit of Christ as Hindus, and Indian Christians should, therefore, imbibe the spirit of ancient religious India, so that their faith may present itself to their countrymen as the development and perfection of the religious thought of their own land."

EDUCATION.—There can be no mistake regarding the Viceroy's sentiments on the subject of reform here and in the directions it should run. If there were any doubt his words in Burma ought to set it at rest. His words were:—"The fact is that the whole system of the education that we are giving to India and the value that is attached to tests as an opening to the public service tends to exalt cramming. The tendency will be the same in Burmah as elsewhere. Starting a new University here will not necessarily lessen the sum total of cramming in British India. It will merely diffuse

* There is nothing either "metaphysical" or "arbitrary," Mr. Mozoomdar is under grave misapprehensions, and should seek more light from some really competent authority. We ourselves would oblige him.—
ED., C. R.

it. The way to deal with the matter is by a drastic overhauling of the entire system of examinations as practised in India, by reducing their number, by simplifying their character, and by declining to accept the examination test as the decisive criterion of every sort of proficiency or merit. This is the task which the Government of India discussed at the recent Educational Conference at Simla, and which we are about to take in hand. I am hopeful that we shall succeed in mitigating some, at any rate, of the worst features of the existing system." Let us hope so. But the matter has gone far beyond mere "cramming." Other questions have been raised which cannot be quite set aside, and the Commission now sitting in Simla will probably have to say a few words on them also even if the Viceroy confined himself (as above) to "cramming," and the Hon. Mr. Raleigh, President of the Commission, declared—

"We are all familiar with the views of those who tell that our Universities are merely Examining Boards, that our Colleges are content to impart a moderate modicum of book knowledge, that there is no sufficient provision for advanced study and research, that our examinations are so conducted as to encourage the crammer and to hamper the efforts of our best teachers. If this Commission should find that these complaints are in any degree well founded, we shall spare no pains to ascertain the true explanation of our failures, and indicate the points in which our system admits of improvements."

The sense of the country generally has been expressed in various ways, and organs like the *Times of India* and the *Englishman*, and leading public men as the Madras native judge at the Convocation and Mohsin-ul-Mulk in his evidence before the Commission have declared other things that are wanting besides the removal of a patent and ordinary evil. The question really comes to this—are we on the wrong track?—how are we to affect the nation itself, and not a few place-seekers? Dr. Miller's mention of "the development of the teaching side of the Universities, the extension of the Hostel system, the reduction of the Matriculation to its proper place by the institution of a school-leaving examination, the making of the Senate smaller and more representative of educational interests, the putting of the Syndicate on a statutory basis," are mere details of only a part of the great question. While the Mahomedans want a real University—we may here add what may not be known, that the scheme set forth by the real originator of the Aligarh College (about whom see our last issue) was Anglo-Oriental (not *Mahomedan* A. O.) Education to affect the national life

(as contrasted with an English College Education)—the Hindoos say:—

"As regards higher education the question arises, has it appreciably influenced national life? The reasons for the slow transformation of ideas and usages are not far to seek. To begin with the education given is *purely exotic and touches the national life at very few points*. In the earlier stages there was very considerable disparity between the sentiments and modes of thought of the young men who came under the influence of the new education and those of their elders brought up in the old ways and accustomed to the old conditions. It is these disparities that account for the "double life" which Mr. Justice Shephard referred to in his address last year as being led by educated men. As regards also the influence exercised by the educated classes over the lower classes the divorce of religion from the new system of education is a serious drawback. To the ignorant and uneducated, religious ordinances which they have been accustomed to defer to are a necessity as a basis of, and incentive to, moral conduct. They cannot argue from first principles and draw their conclusions from a consideration of a complex set of facts in regulating their conduct in life. What they need is an imperative rule, believed to emanate from a Divine authority not liable to be argued out or questioned. From this point of view the hold of the educated classes on the lower classes is of the slightest; and it is only by connecting University education with institutions which are revered by the people, without at the same time infringing in any way the principle of religious neutrality which is one of the fundamental principles on which the British Government in India rests, that the position of the educated classes as the true leaders and guides of the lower will be secured."

To affect the national life—to really educate the nation—to bring education in touch with the great and vast Oriental populations under our rule, populations with the most perfect and polished languages in the world and with the most brilliant literary past, we must have, at least, one aspect or division to regard some of the leading vernaculars. Some Government Institutions already exist which may be made the basis of this aspect. There are also private and very promising Institutions of a similar kind which may be included. Of one of these, the *Nudwa*, we have spoken in a previous issue. We may here still further show what it is by the following extract of a communication by a leading resident of Bareilly which has already appeared in the press:—

- "Sir Antony MacDonnell, the late Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces in his reply to the address of the Trustees of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, is reported to have said, "do not let yourselves be diverted from the latter object by the bug-bear of religious heterodoxy or by the appeal of Nudwa to antique formulas" It is deplorable to think that a statesman like Sir Antony MacDonnell so underrates the value of the religious movement among the educated Mahomedans of Upper India. The Nudwat-ul-Uluma, as its name implies, is a meeting of the Ulumas or the learned men among the Mahomedan community. The Nudwa does not appeal to "antique formulas" but it exhorts the Mahomedans to adapt themselves to modern times and the establishment of the Darul Ulum (Oriental University) at Lucknow was the practical proof given to the world. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, notwithstanding the high position achieved by him, was never looked upon by the Mahomedans as a religious leader. The Ulumas always kept themselves aloof from him, and his influence was only confined to the few English educated Mahomedans of Upper India. The Ulumas always remained in the background and did not move themselves a step forward. It was only through Nudwa,

ul-Uluma that every year hundreds of Ulumas meet together in one place and discuss on educational and social topics. Since the establishment of Nudwa religious feuds and consequent litigation among the Sunnis and Shias, Mukallid and Ghair Mukallids, have nearly disappeared. It was through the exertions of Nudwa that much improvement has been achieved in the curriculum of studies in Arabic schools. Mathematics, History and Geography now find a place in the course of studies. Lately an English class has also been added. Sir Antony MacDonnell from the beginning was not in favour of this movement, as some of the followers of "the new light" represented to him that Nudwa was sowing the seeds of bigotry and religious intolerance among the Mahomedans. He believed this as gospel truth, and always looked to this with disfavour; but as you have said regarding him in your leader of the 14th instant, "the question remains whether the gift has invariably been exercised with wisdom, whether it has not on occasions been impaired by defects which not infrequently accompany qualities of usual strength." In truth his judgment "had been furiously carried away by his feelings." Had the Nudwat-ul-Uluma been appealing to "antique formulas," men of such advanced views as Justice Syed Ameer Ali would not have consented to preside at its forthcoming annual meeting to be held at Calcutta on the 5th, 6th and 7th December, 1901. The Nudwa has in reality achieved that success which Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, notwithstanding his high connection with the highest authorities, failed to do during his lifetime. The Nudwa tries to induce the Moulvies to shake off their lethargy and to open their eyes to the altered state of things. The British Government cannot do a better act for the Mahomedans than to patronise this movement. It is the best example of self-help, so much laid stress upon by the successive Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors. The Nudwa does not ask the Government for grants-in-aid and pecuniary help. It only desires to be looked on with favour and not as a hot-bed of disloyalty and sedition, as its enemies and detractors have depicted it to the authorities. It should be given a fair trial, and then the Government will know that this movement has done much more to enlighten to the Mahomedan community than the M. A. O. College, with all the flourishing of trumpets has done up to this time.* It is to be hoped that our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir J. D. LaTouche, who is reported to be a sympathetic ruler will spare his valuable time to learn the objects and aims of the Nudwa, and give his moral support to an undertaking which is destined to mark a new era in the history of Mahomedan progress during the British Raj."

We make no excuse in furnishing these extracts if the true sense of the country is to be taken. To make the education more efficient—better than mere "cramming"—very much higher marks should be imposed for passing, and the divisions of 1st, 2nd and 3rd classes should be thrown over: there should be only one class. The period of study should also be very much extended. These reforms would do away with half and quarter educated youths, and the thousands of "B. A.s." who now swarm over the country. As neither of these—Vernacular or English—would be a passport to Government employment, the Colleges would really draw those only who wish for a good and thorough education—hence a superior class and not those who only wish to get on in the Matrimonial market or as Government clerks. In regard to religion, for which there is now a cry—and which was first started of late by the late Bishop of Calcutta—it ought

* Because it was diverted from its original purpose.—Ed., C. R.

to be free to religious teachers of the various faiths to have half an hour's or an hour's instruction thrice a week in the class-room of their own flocks. The voice of Christian "Bishops" may here be discounted for many and all-sufficient reasons. If they want to come into the running, let them; if not, let them stand without, and apply themselves to their own sectional Christian Colleges and Schools. In connection with this question, as regards the non-Christian faiths, local Native Committees should decide. As an example, the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College of Benares is issuing a series of three Text-Books, intended to train the young in the principles of religion and morality as taught in the Hindu Shastras. They are the "Sanatana Dharma Catechism," intended for the use of little boys and girls, in the Primary Division of schools. It is published in English, and is being translated into Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Canarese, Tamil and Telugu; the "Sanatana Dharma Elementary Text-Book" is intended for the use of boys in the Middle and Upper Divisions of schools, and for elder girls. In this book Hindu teachings are simply explained, and stories are given illustrating the virtues enforced. There is a selection of Sanskrit Shlokas at the end of each chapter, illustrating the chapter, and intended to be committed to memory; the "Sanatana Dharma Advanced Text-Book" is intended for the use of College students. Each teaching is supported by copious quotations from the Vedas, Manu, the Puranas and other Sanskrit sacred books. Besides the above-noted reforms, female education should proceed side by side; primary education should be extended and made better; and technical, as industrial, agricultural, engineering and science, institutions be planted in important centres. Of these last, too, there are numbers of excellent Colleges in existence. Such ought to be the changes and "reform" if any, though we have already expressed our opinion that education should be left to those who want it, and in this we have since been supported on other grounds by the high authority of Sir Rowland Wilson, Bart., as the following report of a paper he lately read before the East India Association will show:—

- "Either at Wren and Gurneys, or at Cambridge, where he was reader in Indian Law, many of your Service readers will have made the acquaintance of Sir Rowland in earlier years. They will probably be surprised to hear of him in the character of an iconoclast for he is gentle in demeanour and mild in speech; they will therefore take this proposal to abolish the Education Department, as another example of the pitfalls into which even capable men may be led, by a purely theoretical acquaintance with the problems of Indian administration.* An avowed sympathiser with the Congress "line" in most respects, the author of the paper severed himself from it on the one subject

Really?—Ed., C. R.

on which it is in general accord with the Government policy. His keynote was not the growl sometimes heard on Anglo-Indian lips, "We've got too many B. A.'s" but that of the urgent need for retrenchment. He has been deeply impressed by the "average income" discussion, and said that even if, for the purposes of the paper, he accepted Lord Curzon's estimate instead of Mr Digby's, the average income for a whole year was "hardly more than the weekly wage of a skilled London mechanic"—a fact quite sufficient to silence, for the present, all boasting about the blessings of British rule. The people were heavily taxed in proportion to their resources; yet in some directions there was need for increased expenditure, amongst them Police reform and a fuller codification of the law; Lord Curzon had stated that the maintenance of the Army at its full normal strength was requisite. Yet there must be retrenchment somewhere, and the question he wished to ask was "ought India to have an education budget at all? Does she require it? Can she afford it?" The protective function of the State must in the nature of things be a monopoly, and the same chain of necessary interdependence embraced also the Legislative, Diplomatic and Financial Departments. But no one could say that if there was a sudden suspension of all provincial and municipal disbursements for education, the machinery of Government would be paralysed. Everything would go on as before, except that school managers would be compelled either to reduce their establishments, or to raise their fees, or to increase their subscription lists; and would, on the other hand, be free to modify their arrangements to suit the wishes of subscribers and customer without waiting for the approval of the Government Inspector. The million and a quarter sterling now spent on education might be regarded as a mere flea-bite; but it was in reality more like the first bite of a leech, which, if left to itself, would go on sucking until gorged to repletion.

If, as the Education Commission alleged, it was the "right" of every child of school-going age to receive primary education, every pice that could be saved for many a long year in other departments must go to the discharge of this alleged outstanding debt to eleven out of every twelve children, since that was the proportion at present unreachd by the elementary school. As matters stood we were taking from the people, over and above really necessary taxation, an annual sum much larger than they could conveniently part with, yet altogether insufficient for the alleged purpose. We were pinching in order to buy a pop-gun for game that could only be brought down with a rifle. His proposal would also solve the religious difficulty. No one had succeeded in rebutting the presumption that a body which is debarred from meddling with religion must be unfit to control education.

Incidentally he adverted on the official adoption of Sir William Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India" for examination purposes, describing it as a grave political indiscretion. It amounted in effect to imposing a political test on all managers and teachers of State-aided institutions, and could not fail to be a source of irritation and embarrassment to well-informed and conscientious teachers.* If the provision of educational facilities was left to voluntary support and private enterprise, he saw no reason to apprehend that it would fall below a standard fairly corresponding to the actual resources of the population; and he saw a good deal of reason for supposing that the kinds of education supported would be more closely adapted than at present to actual needs. The Government, no longer hampered by inconsistent pledges and discredited by poor performance after large promises, would be vastly stronger for its proper work. In conclusion, Sir Rowland admitted that his proposals would be as little likely to meet with acceptance as a plea for toleration would have been in the sixteenth century; but if he had succeeded in instilling a little salutary scepticism concerning the now dominant theory of State omni-competence, his paper would have been worth the writing.†

* Very true.—ED., C. R.

† We shall have more to say on Sir R. Wilson's very correct ideas in our next issue.—ED., C. R.

The Government of India have expressed approval of the proposal that the Institution about to be founded through Mr. J. N. Tata shall be called the "Indian Institute of Science" instead of the Indian Institute of Research. Government acquiesce in the suggestion that there should be three distinct schools in the Institute: a school of Chemistry, a school of Experimental Physics, and a school of Experimental Biology, in the last named of which Physiological and Bacteriological work will be dealt with. The establishment for these schools is three Professors and three Assistant Professors, while six instructors are to be subsequently selected from amongst the most successful and capable students. The Government of India have notified their conclusion that Bangalore should be selected for the site. This decision is subject to the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements on various points of detail with the Mysore Durbar.

Regarding the new Education Teetotum the *Pioneer* says:—"Mr. H. W. Orange's light has hitherto been under a bushel in the office of the Board of Education at Whitehall, where, on the modest salary of £150 a year, he discharged the duties of Private Secretary to Sir George Kekewich, Secretary. For all we know to the contrary, Mr. Orange may have all the qualities which go to the making of an ideal Director-General of Education, just as Mr. Marshall may prove, in course of time, a first-rate head of the Archæological Survey; but the one appointment is no more to be defended than the other. It is absurd to say that there is nobody connected with educational work in India who is as well fitted to take charge of the new office as a young man whose experience is confined to Whitehall." Mr. Orange's age is said to be thirty-five. The Secretary of State's *fiasco* in the appointment of Dr. Hatch as Mineral Expert will be remembered, only there practical scientific knowledge being required the mistake was soon discovered. Here, however, for aught to the contrary, any one would answer quite well!

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, ETC.—In regard to newspapers and journals, another magazine, the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, has appeared. It deals only with Malabar subjects. The Editor of the *Madras Mail*, on the occasion of a public lecture on "History," made the remark that a newspaper only "chronicled daily events." That is, of course, historically viewed; but the influence of a well-conducted first class leading journal passes beyond the day. The mental equipment of a journalist, too,—which is seen daily by trained and leading intellects and men of both special and extensive knowledge,—is an interesting point. We also see a number of "libel" or

"slander" cases continually cropping up—a more nearly interesting point than any other, and as such, we may be permitted to offer a few remarks on it to serve as a guide or lamp-post to save the inexperienced and the unwary from tripping. First, take up only matters of public—and not private—reference. In exposing any abuse, either as connected with a system or an individual, be quite sure of your facts. There is no excuse, but rather condemnation in publishing as facts what are not facts, *i.e.*, are really lies. Exaggeration, too, here is out of place. And in regard to an individual, he should first be privately given an opportunity to explain—it is both due to him in charity, and there may be facts connected with the matter known to him alone. We think if these plain and simple rules were always observed, there would be very few "libel" cases. Editors and reporter often write or supervise their work in a hurry, and a word or a line may slip in that may be regarded as passing the dividing line, but for such evident slips there is always an easy remedy. It will be seen that we have not regarded a case of *malice prepense*. People who deal in "malice" should have no place in journalism. Any one is liable to view and deal wrongly with a subject; but "malice" is inexcusable, and can always be avoided. As the oldest member of the Press of not only India, but a very much more extended range of the globe's surface, we trust our observations—which have no particular reference—will be taken in good part. We are sure no one will be hurt by them, and every one—even the one notable crooked member of the Native Press—profited by them. We have never, during *forty-seven years* of journalism, from England to New Zealand, the Fijis and South Africa, been made to stand a charge of libel though we have been in the forefront of very ticklish matters; while we have seen others fall, while appropriating our very words. Words are edged tools, and no one should use them in public who has not the mastery of them from incept or thought to utterance.

A few words as usual now about the *Calcutta Review*. We draw special attention to the "History of the High Court" now passing through our pages—a history on which we believe much darkness exists and which has never before been attempted—by one of the most learned and eminent vakil lawyers in Bengal, and who may himself be called up to the Bench which he so well traces up from the beginning. A complete list of the judges, barristers, and other officers of the Court will also, we believe, appear in due course, with special mention of the most eminent of them. Also of the great and notable cases which have left their mark in law and on the land. The literary excellence of Sir William

Rattigan's article on "Gæthe's *Pandora*" appearing in this number, also need not be pointed out to those who appreciate literary culture. And Mr. Sydney Roberts in "An Education in Ugliness" has struck a new line, and is, we believe, a pioneer in his subject—one of great importance to India though dealing with art in ordinary matters. The "Lady's Journey" is continued, and our note to it here is, that we have and have had very eminent lady-contributors—among them Mrs. Beveridge and *Lady Lawrence*. In regard to these, and of our editors and contributors in general, we hope shortly to furnish a History of the *Calcutta Review* from the start under Sir John William Kaye whom we knew personally. The *Calcutta Review* was not started for "profit" commercially, and it would surprise people to know how many thousands have been freely sunk by its Proprietors and Editors to keep it up as the medium of interchange of thought in the "Services," the exponent of Indian administrations, and to set forth the learning and culture of the country. Besides our Home circulation, agencies for it have lately been sought in Belgium, Germany, and France. We are seen from the United States to Japan—and all over India from Baluchistan to Burmah, and from Nepal to South India.

The *I. D. News* has taken to a decidedly humorous turn—it lately wrote of us as being opposed to the present Viceroy. There can be no greater mistake. Our opinion of him is very high indeed. This will be fully seen in due time. On one of our leading contributors, the Rev. Canon Sell, B.D., the Edinburgh University, has conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity in recognition of his work in the field of Oriental Scholarship. "I. D. A." in the *Pioneer* has just referred to another of our writers, Mr. C. A. Kelly, M.A., late a judge in Bengal, and speaks of his "accomplished verse" and "scholarly muse." We conclude this portion of our remarks by stating that we miss several papers on Buckland's "Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal," (a review of it will be found in this number), as well as others, including our "Modern Monkey Gospel" and the Bishop of Madras' "Charge" which last had been specially sent to us, and which we believe was carried off by a rat! Imagine rats studying a Bishop's "Charge!" We shall try to repair the loss as best we may.

Mrs. Beveridge (whom we have already mentioned as one of our lady contributors) has just brought out *The Humayoon-nama of Gulbadan*, from the Persian. We need not say that the work is excellently done, and throws much light on the inner history, and imperial life, of the time. Humayoon was a very extraordinary man—either a favourite of fortune, or a very able man, who was always throwing away his chances,

and in the end, lik'a cat, always falling on his feet. Mr. Maclean's expected volume, to which we referred in a previous issue, has appeared, and is very interesting reading, especially for Bombayites and those who knew the early days. It is indeed a pity that there can be any paper that cannot welcome a really valuable contribution to the history of India. Mr. Maclean did a great deal for Bombay, and it may all be seen in this work. Mr. G. W. Forrest's volume on "Sepoy Generals" has also seen the light. We don't think much either of the title, or the way a civilian writer has dealt with military men. The portion on Lord Roberts is unduly extended, while others of really greater name, as Sir Charles Napier, are briefly passed over. We note that our recommendation not to omit certain names from his list has been attended to. Mr. Fisher Unwin is publishing a story by Mr. Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., who is already known to English readers by his metrical version of the Indian Epics. The book bears the title of "The Lake of Palms," and gives a curious and interesting picture of Indian domestic life. In it are to be met with aged Hindu matrons presiding over vast households, Hindu wives and daughters performing quaint old religious ceremonies and enjoying the newest scandal, and a young Hindu widow committing the unpardonable sin of falling in love. The temples of Benâres are visited; a pilgrimage to the famed shrine of Jagarnath is performed, and the Indian youth partial to Western literature stands side by side with the Indian youth partial to drink. English personages are also introduced into the story. Among other native Indian works we are promised a record of the travels in Thibet of a Bengali ascetic, named Ramanand Bharati, who lately deceased in Benares. It is stated that he was once a follower of Keshub Chunder Sen, the founder of the Brahmos. We don't know—but we shall try to ascertain—whether the Hindu "fakir," who we stated in our last could really transmute quicksilver into gold, and who ultimately became a Christian is still alive. An account of his travels—for in the early days, half a century ago, he visited Singapore, Java, and Japan—would be most interesting. If alive he must be very old. He was one of our earliest "disciples" in the Himalayas in days when such "frauds" as "Koot Hoomi" and Madame Blavatsky, (and their *et ceteras*) were not known or dreamt of. (Another of our "disciples"—non-Christian—was the Chief Priest or Pundit of Delhi of those days.) *Raghuwansa* (Cantos I-VI): edited by Shastri Har Charana Gangopadhyaya, M.A., B.L., and Pundit Kaviratna Ramagopala Bhattacharya, translated into English by Pandit Kisori Mohun Ganguli, B.L., Calcutta, B. Banerjee & Co., is a publication of note, though within

the last twenty years or so no fewer than nine editions of Kali Das's *Raghuvansa*, his masterpiece in the opinion of many scholars, the majority containing both Sanskrit and English notes on the text and several including English translations, have been issued from native presses in Calcutta and Bombay. In elaboration of method these have all been surpassed by the first volume of this work which has just been published in Calcutta. After an introduction occupying 85 pages, giving a critical estimate of the poem and an elaborate discussion of the vexed question of the time at which the poet lived, no less than 392 pages are devoted to a commentary and translation of the first canto only of the original poem, a canto containing only 95 couplets. The opening couplet of the canto is analysed and discussed over twenty-two pages. It would be difficult to find anything to exceed this even in German editions of the Greek and Latin classics. Each couplet is dissected in the most minute manner, being first of all arranged in prose order, then explained by means of synonyms, after which an elaborate paraphrase in Sanskrit follows, succeeded by an extract from the famous *Saṁjivini* commentary of Mallinatha, which, after being quoted *in extenso*, is explained in English, while references to all the quotations from the grammar of Panini and from the *Siddhanta Kaumudī* occurring in the commentary are furnished. Extracts from other Sanskrit commentaries are also given. All this is followed up by separate English notes explaining the derivation of all the words occurring in the text, and giving all the parts of every verbal root. To conclude, translations of each couplet in both Bengali and English are given. Elaboration could hardly go any further, and it would seem that such a book is much better adapted to serve as a storehouse to be consulted by a teacher than as a help to individual students. To complete the work on the same scale for the remaining 18 cantos of the poem would be a prodigious task, and it must be remembered that the *Raghuvansa* is not even one-fiftieth part of the length of the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata*. The English of the introduction and notes, while exhibiting an enormous vocabulary, is weak.

The *Chronology of Ancient India* is an attempt to solve a very difficult question—which has yet to be done for the Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian chronologies by competent men who will not swallow monstrosities—by V. Gopala Iyer of North Arcot. The work consists of three chapters, the first of which discusses the beginning of the Kaliyuga, the last of the four cycles into which Hindu puranic writers of old divided Time. The author fixes the date of this cycle from four different sources. From the Vedanga Jyotisha, one

of the earliest astronomical works of India, he infers that the era must have begun about B. C. 1173; from the writings of Gargachariya, an ancient astronomer of great repute, he ascribes the beginning of the era to a few years prior to B. C. 1165; and from the statements of classical historians like Megasthenes, Arian, Pliny, Solinus and others, the author infers that the Kaliyuga began 851 years before Alexander's stay in India, *i.e.*, B. C. 1177-76. In support of this conclusion Mr. Gopala Iyer finds confirmatory evidence in the course of his examination into the origin of the Malabar or Kollam Era, which has been established beyond dispute to have commenced in B. C. 1176.

In the next chapter the author enters into an elaborate attempt to fix the date of the Mahabharata War, which, according to internal evidence contained in the great work of that name, had taken place sixteen years before the commencement of the Kaliyuga. From evidence furnished by the Rajatarangini, the only indigenous work in all India that can in any sense be called history, from the writings of Aryabhatta, the Hindu astronomer, from the Brihat Samhita and the Vedanga Jyotisha, Mr. Gopala Iyer concludes that the great war must have taken place in the latter half of the year B. C. 1194. As a part of the essay, he makes a critical study of the epic itself and establishes more conclusively that the war should have commenced on the 14th October and terminated on the night of the 31st October B. C. 1194. Incidentally Mr. Gopala Iyer examines the works of other writers on the subject and adduces what appear to be strong grounds to justify his conclusions wherever they happen to differ from other authorities. The last chapter, which deals with the four Yugas, is perhaps the most interesting of the three, and gives a very rational explanation of these particular divisions of Time, in regard to the duration of which extraordinary and extravagant notions prevail among the Hindus of the orthodox class. For instance, the duration of the Kali Yuga is put down as 432,000 years, of the Dwapara 864,000 years, the Treta 1,296,000 years, and the Krita 1,728,000 years, while the life time of Brahma is said to constitute 311,040,000,000,000 years!

Mr. Gopala Iyer has brought to bear on his really patriotic undertaking a vast amount of patience and scholarship, and has made a substantial contribution to the literature on the subject of Indian Chronology, for which he deserves the thanks of his countrymen. The second series of essays which he has under preparation will discuss, among others, the dates of the Rig Veda and of the Aryan immigration into India. These will be awaited with interest.

Gems from Valmiki, by G. Shesha Charlu, is a collection of over 2,000 of the most important and interesting *slokas* of the *Ramayana*. "The poet of the *Ramayana*," as observed by Mr. R. C. Dutt, "conjures up the memories of a golden age, constructs lofty ideals of piety and faith, and describes with infinite pathos domestic scenes and domestic affections which endear the work to modern Hindus." Mr. Charlu has done his work well. The verses have been taken from each of the six *kandas* or books into which the *Ramayana* is divided, and embody moral, ethical and religious lessons. Specially instructive are the verses which lay down the duties of a King to his people, and of a people to their King, of a son to his parents, of a wife to her husband, of a brother to a brother, and of a Minister to a King, and *vice versa*. Hindus to this day strongly believe that Rama as an ideal Prince, Sita as an ideal wife, and Rama, Bharata and Lakshman as ideal brothers could never be equalled in the history of any country, much less excelled. As for the greatness of the epic, the following verse foretelling its everlasting fame is often quoted from its pages :-

As long as mountain ranges stand
And rivers flow upon the earth.
So long will this *Ramayana*
Survive upon the lips of men.

And this prophesy, remarks Professor A. A. Macdonnell in his "History of Sanskrit Literature," has been even more abundantly fulfilled than the well-known prediction of Horace.

Of Burmese literature, the President of the Burmah Educational Syndicate writes :—

"The Burmese language possesses quite an extensive and important literature. Its earlier portions are ancient in date and have come down to the present time, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of Burmese political life. Much of this literature, apart from the Buddhist canon and correlative work, is unknown to the outside world, because it is still enshrined in palm-leaf books, and has never come under the scrutiny of scholarly research. It is certain that it will compare favourably with any vernacular literature of India. There are works in history, both in prose and poetry, that have literary merit. The *Maha Yazawin*, is typical of the former, and the *Paleiksa Egyin* of the latter. There are histories of Arakan, Tagaung, Pagan, Prome, Toungoo, Bassein, Syriam, Zimmé and Siam. To the *Maha Yazawin* just mentioned may be added King Bodaw's *Hman Nan Yazawin*. There is quite a number of monographs (*Thamaings*) of celebrated pagodas like the Shwedagon of Rangoon, the Shwemawdaw of Pegu, and the Shwesandaw of Prome, though they have more literary than historical value. A large number of important inscriptions exist, composed in choice language and having an important bearing on the history of the country. The best portion of the Burmese literature is its poetry. It is the most popular form in which every form of culture has been dressed. For most prose works in history and law, and even in medicine, there are corresponding works in verse. These works are in different styles, and are, for the most part, intended to be recited in public, as *Yadu*, *Yagan*, *Egyin*, *Mawgun*, *Thagyin*, *Pyo*, *Linga*, *Luda*, *E* and *An*. There are songs with various tunes and religious chants. Excellent works in poetry have been composed by Silavamsa, Ratthasara, Oktamagyaw, Aggasamadhi, Taung-

pila Sadaw, Maungdaung Sadaw, Pyi Nawadegy, Shin On Nyo, Padetha Yaja, Min Letwe Thondara, Twinthin Wungyi, and many others. Such works, as the *Paramigan* and the *Bongan* are of a highly refined order, and possess a pure diction, a masterly style and a wealth of imagery. A good specimen of poetry by Ananda Thuriya, A.D. 1167, has been preserved. Among the dramatic works are the *Wizaya Zat*, *Inaung Zat*, *Wizaya*, *Kayi*, *Indawu*, *Indavamsa* and *Kesasiri*, all of which were prepared by ministers and princesses. Besides historical drama, there are fine works of tragedy and comedy, and religious plays, not unlike the passion plays of mediæval Europe. Some old songs are collected in the *Maha Gitu Medani*, which has been published. There is also an extensive library of fiction. In law, there are about seventy *Dhammathats* and *Pyattuns*, which invite the attention of scholars. There are about 250 medical books, including works on divination, palmistry, astrology, astronomy and cosmography, which were translated from the Sanskrit towards the close of the eighteenth century. Commentaries giving expositions of these works have been prepared by Burmese writers. Works of native origin also exist in which the use of indigenous drugs and other medical subjects are discussed. Shin Nyana of Shwcho left thirty-one books on medicine. This general outline of Burmese literature proves that the Burmese language holds within itself a large and important treasure which should be never neglected nor lost. Doubtless careful research would considerably increase the amount of this literary treasure by bringing to light works now buried in the libraries of many monasteries. Whether this is true or not, the present known mass of literature has a strong claim to be carefully studied. Such study, which would rescue the literature of the Burmese nation from oblivion, could be successfully fostered under the patronage and guidance of a local University in sympathy with Burmah and her people. The encouragement of the study of the large collection of Burmese literature is a debt due by the British Government to the Burmese nation over which it rules.

Finally, in regards to books and publications, it was shown at the Annual Meeting of the North India Bible and Tract and Book Society, that 717,255 Christian books, tracts, and scriptures in a great number of languages were circulated and disposed of last year. "Of all the languages the Hindi, in which most of the books were done, was much the most important. It was much more widely diffused and spoken by far more people than any other language in India. It was quite true that the dialects of Hindi were very numerous and differed widely from one another. But there was a standard Hindi which was understood by every one who could read and write through all the wide region of country in which Hindi was spoken." Mr. Wynkoop went on to describe "the vast area over which the Hindi had spread from its original home in Hindustan proper between the Ganges and the Jumna and the neighbouring States. To the east it reached over the whole of Behar until it met the Bengali language half-way between Benares and Calcutta. To the north it covered Oudh and Rohilkhand and exerted a predominant influence in the hill provinces of Kumaun and Garhwal. To the west it embraced all the native States of Central India and Rajputana, running up to the ranges of hills which separated Rajputana from Gujarat. To the south-west it followed the valley of the Nerbudda, until it met the Marhatta country, and in the south it was bounded by the Vindhya Mountains. Going

from Allahabad through Rewa, Bilaspur and Raipur, Hindi skirted the base of the mountain ranges nearly as far as Raipur, in the Central Provinces; it spread over most of the uplands of Chota Nagpur, and lost itself at last in the Bastar State half-way between Calcutta and Madras. Within these boundary lines dwelt, roughly speaking, one hundred millions of people, of whom perhaps eighty millions spoke the Hindi language. Moreover, Hindi was rapidly extending its area. Not only were Hindi-speaking people migrating in considerable number to other Provinces, but Hindi was the language of Government and missionary schools in Kumaon and Gharwal, in Chota Nagpur and the Vindhya Mountains, in all the States of Central India and Rajputana. People might speak the Braj Bhasha, Baghelkhandi, Jaipuri, Merwari, Gundi, Santhali, yet if they read it was Hindi. Gradually the standard language was displacing the local dialects. At Purulia, in Bengal, they were told last year, that where the Hindi and Bengali met, it was Bengali that made way for Hindi, not Hindi for Bengali. A Bible Society report contained statistics of sixteen great missionary societies at work in the various provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from Patna to Orissa, and of the sixteen there was only one which did not include Hindi among the languages it had to use to reach the people. Only ten days before, the Secretary of the Calcutta Tract Society, in sending up an order, quite unprecedented, for 50,000 tracts, had written that the demand for Hindi tracts in Bengal was increasing more rapidly than for Bengali. It was over this great area of these many millions of people in this strong virile language, of which an eminent philologist of the day had said, 'It is one of the dozen languages which will divide the world between them,' that they were seeking to provide a Christian literature." The Bishop of Lucknow presided on the occasion and closed the meeting with the following interesting remarks:—

"When we last met in this room as a society you will perhaps remember that in the few concluding remarks I made I drew attention to the interest which our late Gracious Queen had shown in the work of the Bible Society, and it is gratifying to know that in the great State function, the Coronation of King Edward VII, to take place before very long in Westminster Abbey, the Bible will have its place and its part. I think it is an exceedingly gratifying fact that the King has graciously indicated his acceptance of the proposal that the Bible which is presented to him on this occasion shall be the gift of the British and Foreign Bible Society. (Applause.) By so doing he has shown in a very marked way indeed his appreciation of the Society and its world-wide work. The following words will probably be used by the Archbishop of Canterbury in presenting the Bible:—'Our Gracious King, we present you with this Book, the most valuable thing that this world affords. Here is Wisdom. This is the Royal Law. These are the lively Oracles of God. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the Words of this Book that keep and do the things contained in it. For these are the Words of Eternal Life able to make you wise and happy in this world, nay wise unto salvation, and so

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happy for evermore through Faith which is in Christ Jesus; to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

I think we may be thankful that on the great and impressive occasion it will be manifest to an English nation, and to the whole world, that we still look upon the Bible as the foundation-stone of the great Christian Empire. It is also surely a matter for great satisfaction that the Bible Society is allowed on this occasion to present the book which is to be placed in the King's hand. (Applause.)"

Turning to "Art," an exceedingly valuable note on its educative and great intrinsic importance in Calcutta, by Mr. Havell of the Imperial Museum, which we had intended to reproduce here, we miss (among those other papers we have already referred to) and cannot sufficiently note our regret, as it expressed our very sentiments on the subject.

Madras, in the near future, will be a land near to the heart of the English public school-boy of studious intent. The authorities of Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Merchant Tailors, and Charterhouse Schools have cordially accepted the invitation of the Royal Asiatic Society to be associated with the scheme for encouraging at our great public schools interest in the literature, arts, religion and general history of India. St. Paul's, the only other "selected" school, declined the invitation for some reason or other, and Shrewsbury has been asked to fill the gap. In each of the seven schools a book prize to the value of two guineas, in a special and unique binding, will be granted every year for the best original essay on some Indian subject chosen by the Council of the Society, and the best essay of the year will earn for its writer a special medal, to be known as the King's Medal. The history of the scheme, which has already been published in our columns, is interesting, and may be briefly recalled. In 1897 the Royal Asiatic Society resolved, as has already been stated in the *Times*, to establish a special Jubilee gold medal to be awarded every third year with a view of encouraging Oriental learning in the widest sense among English-speaking people throughout the world. Through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., the well-known Persian scholar, a sufficient sum was collected for the purpose, and the first medal was presented to Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, and the second, only last year, to Dr. West, the distinguished Pahlavi scholar. But owing to the idea having been taken up very warmly in the Madras Presidency by Mr. H. A. Sim, C.I.E., a sum of not less than £1,225, beyond what was required for the provision of the triennial Jubilee medal, was collected, contributed chiefly by His Highness the Rajah of Cochin, the Maharajah Gajapati Rao, and the Rajah of Parlakimedi. It is with this surplus sum that, with the consent of the donors, the new "King's Medal" and the book prizes have been founded by the Asiatic Society.

The latter will be known as the "Cochin," "Gajapati Rao," "Parlakimedi," and "Madras Rajahs" prizes. In addition to this a fund has been reserved for encouraging Oriental scholarship in its more specialised and technical departments, by devoting the annual interest derived from the fund to aiding the publication of some work which the society may deem worthy of its support.

Professor Grünwedel, of Berlin, has recently published an interesting paper on the Gandhara or Græco-Baktrian sculptures found on our North-Western Frontier, in which he speaks of the interest these remains of ancient Buddhist art have aroused of late, especially in England, France, and Russia,—where Dr. J. Burgess, M. Alfred Foucher and Professor, Sergius von Oldenburg have done so much to elucidate their history and meaning. The first of these, about three years ago, published two long papers on them, filling three of the quarterly parts of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, and he has recently issued a translation, with large additions, of Professor Grünwedel's "Handbook of Buddhist Art." This work will form an excellent guide-book for all Museum collections of these sculptures. Professor Grünwedel now discusses some of the fresh sculptures Dr. Burgess has published, basing his remarks on a paper, in Russian, by Professor S. von Oldenburg on the subject. It relates chiefly to the Naga or Snake Rajahs represented in the sculptures, and to a very remarkable sculpture of six men, of Roman type, holding what appear to be shovels, of which the original is now in the British Museum. Professor Oldenburg closes his essay with the remark:—"Finally we can only express the desire that a large number of examples of this Gandhara art may be published as soon as possible, for, without such, the study is very difficult—in fact, almost impossible." This desideratum was expressed in his first paper on the subject by Dr. Burgess, who got many of those in the British Museum photographed, and published in Griggs's "Indian Monuments" a very considerable number. The Calcutta Museum, we believe, undertook to publish a selection under the supervision of Dr. Bloch; but some years have elapsed since, and we have heard nothing of its appearance.

The Trustees of the British Museum have published some further selected inscriptions from Assyrian-Babylonian tablets. We have here given us a portion of the heathen corrupted idea of the origin of the world—very similar in essence to the Hindoo account and also corresponding in date, supposed about 2000 B.C.—as filtered and disintegrated from the Hebraic Adamic account of Moses; that is, the war waged by Mardakh, *the Son of the God of Heaven*, against Chaos or "the Chaotic

Sea." The *Times*' writer is pleased to call it a "nature myth" instead of a corrupted tradition of an authentic 'revelation, and also *more suo* assigns the "bruising of the serpent's head" of Genesis to it!!! We may pass by the perverted ingenuity of ignorance and disbelief thus unhappily displayed, as well as the flippant mention of "the poetic contest between Yahveh (misspelt as 'Yaveh' by the *Times*) and Rahab"—reminding us of the worse (and even blasphemous) use of the Sacred, Unpronounced and Unpronounceable Name by the late Mr. Huxley, of whom an "unswerving fidelity to truth" (!!!) is recorded by the newly-risen universal genius and miserable muddler Clodd,—to note, that Mardakh, "the Son of the God of Heaven," in the above account, is variously called "The Son," "The First-Born," "The Great God," "The Mighty Lord," "The Restorer of Peace," the Avenger," and one to whom is given "the Sovereignty and Power over ALL things." (cf. Isaiah ix, 6-7.) We notice it in order to remove the mistaken notion that may occur to some of the uninstructed that Isaiah copied from, or reproduced, a "nature myth." The "Son of God" here, as in the similar Parsee and Egyptian mythologies of the same period, is the *same* "Jehovah" (Yahveh) with whom the *Cabbala*—well-known to and expounded by Isaiah—begins and ends—"the First and the Last"—"the All-in-All," of whom we wrote last year the Zodiacal Starry Heavens were made the Adamic Book for all the world to read daily (nightly, and of which, according to one authority, there is a proof and "copy" in India itself coming down from these very Assyrian-Babylonian times. It is curious how ignorant writers with pretentious learning, try to sap the foundations of Genesis and the Gospels,—forgetting they have to get over Moses and Christ Himself,—in which unhappy attempt we can promise them no more success than the builders of the "Tower of Babel" to scale heaven, or the (Greek) Titans to war against and dethrone the *same* Yahveh-Christ—"the First and the Last," "the All-in-All." To speak on a lower level, and apart from the "Divine Word"—the *Cabbala*—the great Masonic Body will always maintain the Authority of "the Book of the Law," and human nature and human intellect (see Plato) will always hold to the Christ-God—God and Man, Creator and Redeemer and Brother, and this whether the intellect be pantheistic, materialistic, or spiritualistic—for mathematics cannot be got over, the conditioned cannot become the Absolute, nor is man a waif—a mere bubble, but "the Image of God"—of "the Son of the God of Heaven."

For want of space we omit all our notes on mineral and other physical-science matters, as well as on ethnography and

medicine, only here referring to the new theory of Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson regarding the cause of leprosy being badly cured salt fish to say that in some parts of India the theory among the natives is that it is caused by eating (fish) fresh with milk. There may be something in the fish and milk as well as the badly cured salt fish, but they remain to be conclusively proved, and they do not cover the whole ground: We may also include here the *India Medical Gazette's* notes on a lecture delivered by Dr. George Lamb, I.M.S., of the Bombay Research Laboratory (Dr. Hanna's—of the same Laboratory—own notes we ourselves furnished last year), and a paper received from Messrs. Jambon and Cie of 5, Bankshall Street, Calcutta, the agents for the *Pasteur Institute* of Lille (France), who state they are in a position to supply any quantity of the serums they name.

"Captain Lamb points out the chemical differences in the poisons of the cobra and daboia, and his results differ in many important particulars from those of Martin, Cunningham and Calmette. He shows that the effect of cobra poison is first and mainly on the central nervous system, and secondly on the blood, breaking up the red corpuscles and setting free the hæmoglobin. This is a quite different effect from that of daboia poisoning, which acts mainly, if not entirely, on the circulatory apparatus. This is summed up by Captain Lamb as follows:—

(1) It affects the coagulability of the blood: injected directly into the blood stream or in large doses under the skin it so increases this as to cause extensive intra-vascular clotting. In small doses it causes after no doubt a short-lived phase of increased coagulability, a marked and prolonged phase of diminished coagulability, so that in some instances I have noticed the shed blood remain absolutely unclotted even after twenty-four hours.

(2) It has a destructive action on the red blood cells, breaking these up and setting free the colouring matter contained in them.

(3) It has a marked destructive action on the capillary walls, rendering them more permeable to their fluid contents.

(4) It has a marked depressing action on the heart, so marked indeed as to sometimes lead to a fatal termination from this action alone.

(5) It has no action on the central nervous system, and there is therefore no paralysis ever observed.

It has always been a matter of some doubt whether Calmette's serum was of any specific value against any viperine snake. Calmette (*Allbutt's System*; vol. II, p. 834) apparently claimed that his antivenomous serum was equally efficacious

in cases of cobra bite and in the bite of many other snakes, but he does not specially mention the daboia. The late Dr. Kauthack, however, in his review of Dr. D. D. Cunningham's 1895 paper on snake poison, distinctly laid down that Calmette's serum "had no effect against daboia venom" (*op. cit.* p. 838), and now Captain Lamb "has demonstrated in many experiments with different animals that it is of no avail whatever in counteracting the poisonous effects of the daboia venom." Captain Lamb is still experimenting on other snake-poisons, and we are informed that Calmette's serum has little or no effect against the venom of *bungaries faciatus*. These are facts of the utmost importance. A sufficient number of cases have now been published in our columns and in those of our medical contemporaries to show the undoubted efficacy of Calmette's serum in cases of cobra bite. It is therefore of the utmost importance for the physician or surgeon, who has a case of snake bite to treat, to be able to see and identify the snake. If the reptile is recognised to be a cobra, then Calmette's serum is to be used at once and with a free hand. Fortunately it is true that, as Martin of Melbourne has pointed out, in the majority of cases the victim does "not receive much over a minimum lethal dose;" hence recorded success of treatment by 10 c.c. and less of Calmette's serum, but as Lamb and Hanna have pointed out, this serum undoubtedly deteriorates in the hot weather in India, hence one phial is seldom sufficient, and if marked nervous symptoms supervene, the surgeon must not hesitate to push the serum and inject the contents of three, four or even five phials before he gives up the case as lost, or still better, resort to intravenous injection of not less than 30 c.c.

This leads us to the question of expense. At present a phial containing only 10 c.c. costs in India about five rupees, hence Rs. 20 or so are necessary for successful treatment. This is not much if thereby we save a human life, but few of our rural dispensaries (where the remedy is most needed) can afford to stock sufficient quantities of serum at this high price. The remedy however is clear, and that is, that India must manufacture the serum for itself. It seems absurd that India should send home snakes for the antivenomous serum to be manufactured in France, and to be exported out here at fancy prices, when we have the laboratories and the expert men already among us in India.

The Bombay Research Laboratory or the Pasteur Institute at Kasauli could manufacture enough serum to supply every dispensary in India with serum if a grant was given, and a medical expert appointed for this special work. Statistics published by the Government of India show over 22,000 deaths

annually from snake-bite. Many of these lives could be saved were every rural dispensary in India supplied with Calmette's anticobra serum, and this cannot be done till Indian laboratories are granted facilities to manufacture this serum on a large scale and distribute it at cost price to dispensaries all over the country."

The Lille Serums are delivered in hermetically sealed bottles bearing the stamp of the Institute and containing a dose of ten cubic centimetres. Each dose, accompanied with instructions, is placed in a wooden box bearing the date of preparation. The Antivenene Serum can remain active indefinitely, provided it is kept in the dark. Nevertheless there is always serums not older than two months. The heat up to 140° Fahrenheit will not alter it. It should make part of the truss of hunters and explorers. It can be employed not only for persons, but also for domestic animals, dogs, horses, cattle, sheep, etc., which may be bitten by venomous reptiles. Its employ presents no difficulty nor any danger. In a country like India, where poisonous snakes make so many victims, this serum ought to be kept in every house, and all dispensaries should have always a certain quantity in stock.

The retail prices by Messrs. Jambon have been fixed as follows:—

- | | | |
|--|-----|---------|
| 1. Antivenene Serum, each box containing a phial of 10 cubic centimetres | ... | Rs. 5/- |
| 2. Antidiphtheric Serum | " " | " 3/- |
| 3. Antistreptococcic Serum | " " | " 3/- |
| 4. Antitetanic Serum | " " | " 3/- |

Special reductions on orders from druggists, chemists, and physicians, and for hospitals, viz., Rs. 3/- for the Antivenene, and Rs. 2/- for the Antidiphtheric, Antistreptococcic and Antitetanic Serums. Hydodermic Syringes at Rs. 20 each.

The antivenomous serum is serum taken from horses immunised against the venom of snakes. It will retain its properties if kept in as cool a place as possible, away from daylight and without taking the phial out of its box. At or above the temperature of 50° Cent.—122° Fahr.—the serum becomes inactive.

Preventive power.—The preventive power of this serum is, at the least, of 20,000, i.e., it is sufficient to inject rabbits preventively with a quantity of serum equal to 1/20,000th of their weight to enable them to bear, one day afterwards, without their being poisoned, a dose of one milligramme of dry venom of *cobra capella*, of medium activity, the said dose being sufficient to kill control rabbits in less than four hours.

Therapeutic action.—If injected in sufficient quantity into persons bitten by snakes, the antivenomous serum will prevent the effects of the venom providing symptoms of poisoning are

not too far advanced. It must be injected as soon as possible after the bite. Its intervention is still very efficacious an hour and a half after the bite with adults who rarely die within three hours after the bite of the most dangerous species of snakes.

The serum is active against the venom of all species of snakes existing in the ancient and new world. It has been tested with the venoms of the *cobra capella* and *trimeresurus* of Asia, the *naja haje* and *cerastes* of Africa, the *crotalus* of America, the *bothrops* of the West Indies, the varieties of *pseudechus* and *hoplocephalus* of Australia and the *vipers* of Europe.

The dose to employ varies according to the species of the snake, the age of the person bitten, and the time of the employment of the remedy.

Generally 10 cubic centimetres are sufficient for children under ten years, and 20 centimetres for adults. However, when the bite comes from a very dangerous species, such as the *cobra capella*, the *naja haje*, the *crotalus*, the *bothrops* of the West Indies, it will be prudent to make three or four injections of 10 c. c. each.

Treatment of venomous bites.—The first precaution to take is to surround tightly the bitten limb as near as possible to the bite and between the latter and the trunk, with a strip of cloth or a handkerchief.

The wound should be washed with a solution of chloride of lime in the proportion of 1 gramme to 60 of water previously boiled, which corresponds to between 0 lit. 800 to 0 lit. 900 of chlorine per 1,000 cubic centimetres.

The dose of serum must be injected in the sub-cutaneous cellular tissue in the right or left side of the abdomen, and with the usual antiseptic precautions.

Then, with the same syringe, 8 or 10 cubic centimetres of the solution 1/60 of chloride of lime will be injected into the different parts surrounding the bite or into the position of the bite itself. These injections are intended to destroy locally the venom which has not yet been absorbed.

After the injection, the strip can be taken away from the limb; the patient must be rubbed and coffee or tea be administered; and he should be covered up warmly so as to provoke an abundant perspiration.

The administration of ammonia or alcohol must be avoided, as it would only be injurious both to the patient and to the treatment by the serum.

It is also unnecessary to cauterise the bitten limb either by a hot iron or by chemical substances.

Important.—Doctors making use of the above serum are

earnestly requested to communicate the results obtained by its application to Dpctor A. CALMETTE, Directeur de l'Institut Pasteur de Lille (Nord) France.

C., for details, the book of Dr. A. Calmette, entitled: "The Venom of Snakes, Physiology and Treatment of venomous bites," edited by la Société d' Editions scientifiques, Paris.

The Pasteur Institute at Kasauli opened on the 9th August 1900, treated 321 persons during the first year. The figures from August, 1901, up to the 15th April, 1902, show 352 persons already treated. These include 126 Europeans and 226 natives, and is a conclusive evidence of the growing popularity of the Institute. Eight British officers, 48 British soldiers, and 28 men of the Native Army have already received relief since last August, while out of 61 European civilians 9 were Government servants, and of 198 natives 31 were also in Government service. Since the Institute opened every European bitten by a mad animal in India has attended it, so no material increase of patients is expected from the European population. Every European, moreover, has been successfully treated. The native prejudice against the Institute appears to be rapidly decreasing, while failures among natives have only been 0·8 per cent. As the latter have been, as a rule, severely bitten, often by mad jackals, whose virus is more deadly than dogs and often arrive late for treatment, the results are eminently satisfactory. Major Semple, the Director of the Institute, will soon, if the present increase is maintained, give results which surpass those of the Paris Institute. The value of the work he now does, says the *Times of India*, can scarcely be overrated, and it is understood that Government will shortly vote more assistance to the Institute.

AGRICULTURE, TRADE, ETC.—In the matter of sugar we have had sent to us a voluminous correspondence from the Cawnpore Chamber of Commerce on the (still again) gloomy prospects of this important product of India. It seems the countervailing duties have not had the effect of checking the importation of Austrian and German sugars, and sugar people have again begun to cry out to Government for help. The whole subject of sugar, from cultivation to finished product, is a very large one, and our readers will remember that we furnished a note on it regarding Mr. Minchin's improved process of manufacture in our last, as well as referred to the Government of Bengal helping on enquiries in previous issues. As we propose to set forth the whole subject in a separate paper in our next number, we refrain from saying more here more than (1) Mr. Minchin has shown the way to better things, (2) Government, too, is helping by scientific enquiries, (3) Messrs. Parry & Co., of Madras, who are also large sugar-growers in South

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India, are also helping in the same way, (4) British sugar-growers in India ought to be ashamed of following the lead of Jamaica negroes in crying to Government at every pinch, (5) economic laws will have their course in spite of undue or ill-considered interferences by Governments whether these be of India or Germany, (6) the remedy is in the hands of sugar-growers by improved and scientific modes of cultivation and production. (7) How is it that the Colonial Sugar Company of Australia and Fiji—supposed to be the largest sugar-growers in the world—do not cry out for help, or even the Natal sugar-planters? Nay, we know that they make large profits, and this in spite of being heavily handicapped as compared with India in the matter of the price of labour! (8) The infinitesimally small number of sugar-growing folk in India cannot see that cheap sugar benefits the *entire population of the country*. (9) As a fact the consumption of sugar by the lower classes of natives has largely increased within the past few years—hence the greater demand, and the greater demand for cheap sugar. Sugar, in fact, which was once a luxury, is now becoming an article of food for old and young. We trust the Cawnpore Chamber of Commerce will perpend over these remarks, and we shall be glad to print in our pages any reply (if not too long) that they may have to offer—or they may print it themselves! Meanwhile, as we have said, we shall furnish a paper on “Sugar” in our next number.

The Director of Land Records and Agriculture, N.-W. P., has been ordered by the Government to conduct an investigation into the production and consumption of food within these Provinces. He will be assisted by twelve Deputy Collectors specially deputed as well as by Commissioners of Divisions and Collectors of District. At what age infants are weaned in various districts and among various classes of the population; at what period of life the young man or young woman begins to require a full meal, and what a full meal averages; when again with the approach of age the appetite declines, and the extent of the adult's requirements in wheat, or pulse, or rice begins to lessen, and, finally, to what extent the supply of food-grains is supplemented from other sources—these are among the abstruse questions to which the new inquiry is designed to elicit answers.

This ought to be a specially valuable return, and should be extended *all over India*! It would, if prepared with accuracy, enable the Government to answer a good many questions which have for years been agitating the community both here and at home. It would, indeed, be the work of the age for India.

In regard to indigo, on which, too, the Government of

Bengal has offered to help the planters, we find the following remarks made by some one who knows something of his subject:—

"I think I may say without much fear of contradiction, and after a long experience, that the steeping process in indigo manufacture as now carried on leaves a great deal to be desired. The vats are exposed to every change in the weather, being, as a rule, without shelter of any sort. Further than this, no serious attempts have been made to ascertain scientifically the nature of the fermentation that goes on in the vat or whether there is more than one fermentation: nor, so far as I am aware, have the effects of the fermentative changes on the quantity and quality of the indigo been noted or any attempt made by us to keep the temperature of the vats within prescribed limits. When it is remembered that the success of the steeping has been held to depend on proper fermentation in the vats, the bad effects of these arrangements may be easily imagined

. . . . But it is curious that though in other industries in which fermentation is a part of the process, not only is the exact nature of the fermentation known, but every care is taken to control it, nothing of the kind has hitherto been attempted in indigo, where so much depends on proper steeping. It is, therefore, clear, that much remains to be done to improve the system of indigo manufacture, and that it is not wise to neglect any reasonable suggestion which may lead to that end. The diffusion process has been sufficiently described in my pamphlet on sugar cane, so I need not enlarge on it here, beyond saying that it depends on the law that when two liquids of varying densities are separated by a porous diaphragm they diffuse and acquire the same density. In sugar manufacture the two liquids are water and cane juice, the porous diaphragm, the cell wall containing the juice. In indigo manufacture they would be water and the colouring matter in the leaf cells."

Tea has been attracting a good deal of attention of late owing to several causes: (1) its over-production, (2) a class of small planters embarking on the enterprise, (3) its capable organisation, (4) an assumed fall of prices, (5) a proposal to further tax tea at home, (6) the usual cry in India for Government (*ma bap*) help, (7) the opening up of new foreign markets, (8) also of a market among the natives in India. That it is an important industry no one questions, and the figures we submit below from Mr. O'Connor's report will sufficiently show that a number of small planters have gone in for it, and that these always cry the loudest, is also known to every one. We have said above "an assumed fall of prices," which will not be borne out by Mr. O'Connor's figures, but we mean by it that it is arbitrary and unjustifiable to fix on the prices of 1873 to represent 100 (except for the mere purpose of showing fluctuations), and thence to reason that prices have gone down. We remember 1873 well though we were not in India at the time—we remember also the years previous and the years subsequent—and we can truly say that as compared to the excellence of the leaf then the lowering of the prices represents not only increased production but *deterioration*.

of quality. Indian tea used to be a little dear then, but it was *very good*—such indeed as we *never* see for sale now. (It was the same with Ceylon tea.) In truth, to our eye, the assumed lowering of the prices is not one at all: it *represents the exact value of the tea as we now find it.* In our opinion the cry for Government to help in laying on a Tea Cess is hardly just—let the weak go to the wall—let the “rubbish” miscalled tea disappear. The opening up of new markets whether outside or inside India is all right. And here we would again point out the injustice done to the public in maintaining even the present prices when the actual sale (auction sale) prices are *about half as low!* Surely the middlemen and grocers or retailers are not to make a *hundred per cent* profit on a poor public. It is against *these*—who, as is well known, all over the world and in every article, swallow up the profits of the producer—that there should be an outcry and a counter-combination if only in defence. As for the *genuine* old days when we paid three rupees and over for a pound of tea, and got real value for it, they will never come back again. At present we have a tea “blended” and changed out of recognition, and taste, marked as of the same class (!) and priced at about a rupee and a half, the auction sale price of which is only say ten annas! * We trust we have sufficiently shown in which direction reform lies and what may be done by respectable planters to at the same time increase their own profits and lower the price to the public. When this is done, there will be a doubly increased demand for Indian tea, and even native India will take to it. We now proceed to our figures.

Nearly half a billion pounds of tea were consumed in the year 1900 in countries other than the sources of production. The United Kingdom is the world's greatest importer, having taken for consumption during the year 1900, in round numbers, 250 million pounds of tea, as against 116½ millions imported for consumption by Russia, 83·3 millions by the United States, 7½ millions by the Netherlands, about 6½ millions by Germany, and nearly 2½ millions by France. A comparison of the tea consumption of the past year, with that of earlier periods, discloses the fact that tea is becoming more popular as a beverage in European countries, though little more than holding its own in the United States, where coffee is the favourite beverage. The five European countries—United States,

* The following, which we quote from the report of the latest auction sale, fully bears out our contention above that “rubbish” is manufactured for the present markets, and the consumer is the sufferer:—“The grades which secured most attention were leaf teas under 5 annas, which are wanted for London, and dust teas which sold up to 3 annas 9 pic for the local bazaar trade.” Comment is superfluous! Ed.

Russia, Netherlands, Germany and France—took for consumption in 1890, 27 million pounds of tea; and in 1900, 383 million pounds; an increase of 40 per cent. The United States, on the other hand, has not materially increased her consumption of tea during that period, 83 million pounds, according to a recent United States report, being the consumption for both the initial and final dates of the period under consideration. The relative popularity of tea and coffee in the United States and the United Kingdom may be seen from the *per capita* consumption of those articles in the two countries. For the year 1900 the relative *per capita* consumption in the United States was 9·8 pounds of coffee and 1·1 pounds of tea; in the United Kingdom 6 pounds of tea and ·71 of a pound of coffee. The net imports of tea into the United States have remained almost stationary since 1890, having been 83,494,956 pounds in that year, and 83,303,177 pounds in 1900, and for the fiscal year 1901, are expected to be approximately 90,000,000. Into the United Kingdom, the imports of tea for consumption have increased from 194,000,000 pounds in 1890 to 250,000,000 pounds in 1900. The net imports of coffee into the United States have increased from 490,000,000 pounds in 1890 to 749,000,000 pounds in 1900; while into the United Kingdom 28,000,000 pounds were imported for consumption in 1890, and 29,000,000 in 1900, the growth being almost imperceptible. The official report of tea planting in Assam during the past year gives the total number of gardens as 804 against 815 in the previous year, the total area being returned at 1,059,624 acres against 1,028,431 in 1899. The number of persons employed permanently increased from 457,343 in 1899 to 468,326 during the year under report. Over 97 per cent. of the area under tea is in European hands, while less than 3 per cent. is owned by natives. The total outturn was 141,118,644 lbs. against 128,371,857 lbs. in 1899, showing an increase of 12,746,787 lbs. Mr. O'Connor's figures are as follows:—

The area under tea in India at the end of 1900 extended over 522,487 acres, nearly two-thirds (64·6 per cent.) being in the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surma which contain as much as 337,327 acres, namely, 204,985 in Assam (the Brahmaputra Valley) and 132,342 in Cachar and Sylhet (the Surma Valley). In extent of cultivation Bengal comes next, the area under tea being 134,572 acres, or 25·8 per cent. of the whole, and a little more than that in the Surma Valley. The production of tea is, therefore, to the extent of nine-tenths of the whole area, limited to the two Provinces of Assam and Bengal.

The principal localities in each Province where tea is grown are these:—

IN ASSAM.		Acres.
Surma Valley :—		
Cachar	...	60,852
Sylhet	...	71,490
Brahmaputra Valley :—		
Sibsagar	...	78,422
Lakhimpur	...	67,509
Darrang	...	41,708

THE QUARTER.

Nowgong	...	...	...	12,073
Kanpur	...	...	...	3,973
IN BENGAL				
Darjeeling	...	...	...	50,760
Jalpaiguri	...	...	...	76,278
Chittagong	...	...	...	4,146
Ranchi and Hazaribagh	...	...	...	3,284
IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES				
Kumaun	...	...	...	2,921
Dehra Dun	...	...	...	5,134
IN THE PUNJAB.				
Kangra	...	...	...	9,645
IN SOUTHERN INDIA				
Nilgiris	...	...	...	2,512
Malabar	...	...	...	3,068
Travancore	...	...	...	25,202

There is a small area of 1,479 acres in Upper Burma, but in this Province the leaf which is produced is not made into tea, but is pickled to be eaten by the Burmese, and the area and production may therefore be left out of account. Tea cultivation in India has been mainly concentrated in tracts where a heavy rainfall and a humid and equable climate permit of repeated flushes and pluckings of the leaf. In the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Summa the yield averages about 465 lb. to the acre; in Jalpaiguri (the Duars) 481 lb., in Darjeeling about 279 lb.; in the North-Western Provinces it is 409 lb. In Travancore it is stated at 360 lb. Elsewhere it is much lower. The area under tea has expanded from year to year without a pause during the sixteen years, 1885 to 1900. In 1885 the area was about 284,000 acres, in 1900 it had increased to 522,487 acres, the increase being in the ratio of 84 per cent.

The number of acres added to the tea-growing area each year has been —

	Acres		Acres
1886	14,294	1894	4,688
1887	14,584	1895	15,100
1888	11,524	1896	17,563
1889	9,374	1897	36,838
1890	11,126	1898	31,561
1891	17,610	1899	13,978
1892	12,432	1900	6,829
1893	20,970		

It appears then that as much as about 107,000 acres have been added to the area under tea during the last five years. This area, in full bearing, will yield at least 40 million pounds of tea a year. The plantations vary greatly in size. In Assam, where the industry is mainly carried on by Europeans with ample capital, where fusions of estates have been in progress for some years in view of economy of management, and where most plantations have large unplanted areas attached to them, the area of a plantation averages as much as 1,318 acres. In Bengal the average area of a plantation is 734 acres; in the North-Western Provinces the average falls to 121 acres, while in the Punjab, where natives grow tea extensively in the Kangra Valley, there are only about four acres to each plantation. In Madras the average is about 172 acres and in Travancore 445 acres.

PRODUCTION.

The quantity of tea produced has increased in much greater ratio than the area under cultivation, for while the area has increased by 84 per cent, the increase in production has been 176 per cent.

Representing the area and production in 1885 by 100 in each case, the ratio of increase is stated below:—

	Area.	Quantity produced.	Actual increase annually in lb.
1885	100	100	...
1886	105	115	10,899,835
1887	110	129	9,826,270

	Area	Quantity produced.	Actual increase annually in lb
1886	114	139	7,540,462
1889	117	149	7,250,331
1890	121	156	4,993,531
1891	127	173	11,831,496
1892	132	170	-1,873,028
1893	139	185	10,253,626
1894	141	188	2,405,144
1895	146	200	8,694,783
1896	152	219	13,018,227
1897	165	215	-2,643,840
1898	177	222	3,693,192
1899	182	254	24,322,055
1900	184	276	15,663,209

PERSONS EMPLOYED

The number of persons employed in the tea industry in 1900 is returned at 621,287 (permanently) and 95,446 (temporarily) of altogether a little below three-quarters of a million (797,733 persons), which would work out to about 138 persons to the acre.

EXPORTS AND CONSUMPTION.

The tea produced in India is exported, mainly to the United Kingdom, to the extent of about 95.6 per cent. of the average production. The subjoined figures give approximately the quantity of tea consumed in India, the figures representing the average of the last five years.

INDIAN TEA

Produced	170,569,067 lb
Exported	164,634,913 "
Left in India	5,874,154 "

FOREIGN TEA

Imported	5,801,211 lb
Re-exported	2,563,029 "
Left in India	3,238,212 "

Thus more than nine million pounds were left in India on the average, of which 5.57 millions Indian and 3.24 millions foreign, the bulk of the foreign tea being Chinese, though a substantial quantity consists of Ceylon tea. More than a million pounds are purchased annually for the British Army, and a larger quantity must be consumed by the European and Eurasian civil population, as also by natives who, in some of the larger towns, are adopting the tea drinking habit.

The principal markets for Indian tea are stated hereunder, with the quantity exported (in lb.) to each country in the last three years:

By Sea	1898-99.	1899-1900	1900-01
U. Kingdom	130,245,995	154,161,492	166,171,556
Australia	6,305,135	8,362,797	10,438,984
United States & Canada	2,457,880	4,677,797	3,490,451
Persia	3,459,791	1,953,900	2,429,140
Russia	500,889	467,451	772,495

TRANS-FRONTIER

Kabul, Kashmir, and other countries on the N.-W. Frontier	1,040,704	2,099,328	1,942,640
Other trans-frontier countries	23,968	25,312	25,790

The production of tea in India and Ceylon has increased so much more rapidly than the consumption in the United Kingdom, which is the principal market for these teas, that there has been a heavy fall in price, and the tea industry is at the moment in a position of great embarrassment. Producers are busily engaged seeking relief from the introduction of economies and from the enlargement of markets other than that in the United Kingdom.

PRICES.

The course of prices of tea in Calcutta is illustrated in the appended figure in which the price in March 1873 is taken as equal to 100. They represent

the course of prices of fine Pekoe in January of each year as given by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. It will be observed that the price in January 1901 fell to the lowest level yet known.

1873	100	1888	...	84
1874	...	1889	...	77
1875	...	1890	...	63
1876	...	1891	...	81
1877	...	1892	...	71
1878	...	1893	...	87
1879	...	1894	...	52
1880	...	1895	...	97
1881	...	1896	...	84
1882	...	1897	...	64
1883	...	1898	...	61
1884	...	1899	...	58
1885	...	1900	...	64
1886	...	1901	...	45
1887	...			

In the Statistical Department the average prices of the various descriptions of tea sold at the public sales held in Calcutta during the tea season have been computed for some years past. From these accounts the figures below are taken, being the prices in annas and pies per pound of the three descriptions which form the largest proportion of the tea sold and the variations in the prices, the average price of 1888 being represented by 100 :

	Broken Pekoe.		Pekoe.		Pekoe Souchong.	
	A.	P.	A.	P.	A.	P.
1888	10	3	8	1
1889	9	9	7	5
1890	8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	7	2
1891	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1892	11	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	9
1893	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1894	11	8	9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1895	9	—	7	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1896	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1897	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1898	7	—	5	8
1899	6	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1900	6	—	5	—

The actual value of the entire foreign trade of India for the year ending March last was:—

		Imports.		1899-1900.	1900-01.
Merchandise	70,71,18,634	76,27,78,853
Gold	11,44,78,674	11,77,13,827
Silver	9,51,06,458	4,59,22,253
Total Imports	91,67,03,766	92,74,14,933
		Exports.		1899-1900.	1900-01.
Foreign merchandise re-exported	3,29,24,912	3,20,85,314
Indian merchandise	105,68,36,901	104,20,53,484
Gold	2,00,81,962	4,30,58,851
Silver	5,94,18,443	3,16,85,700
Total Exports	1,16,92,62,278	1,14,88,83,349

The total imports of sugar amounted to about quarter of a million tons. In regard to salt the quantity of salt was much smaller than that of the three preceding years, stocks in store

being drawn upon for the deficiency. Only 347,788 tons were imported, value Rs. 56.6 lakhs, a small trade but important to the revenue, for the duty on this importation (if it was all paid in the year of import) would amount to about Rs. 222 lakhs, four times the value. Hence the attention generally given in a paper on Indian trade to a trade which in itself is of no special importance. Japan has declared she will take all her cotton from India. In regard to hardware—the cheaper kinds—the market is being supplied more and more largely with continental manufacture, German, Austro-Hungarian, and Belgian. Importations from Austro-Hungary have more than doubled in three years, and from Germany they have increased 75 per cent.

The unprecedented dimensions of the trade in hides in 1899-1900 were exceeded last year; in the two years more than twenty-eight million hides were exported, a melancholy testimony to the intensity of the drought and the extensive area over which it prevailed. Finally, it is also melancholy to record that 112,000 tons of bones, and 66 lakhs of rupees' worth oil-cake and other products, all which India so much needs, were also exported last year. Solomon wrote nearly three thousand years ago that "the things that are wanting cannot be numbered"—we may add—"specially in India," one being a heavy duty on all such exports.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Under this head, owing to want of space, we withhold for the present the late census and other interesting figures and matters, only noticing the regrettable sale of the Seven Tanks property near Calcutta, and one of its old "landmarks" (and that for less than a lakh and a half) to build residential quarters for some Ordnance Factory subordinates; the vigorous protest of the *Indian Planting Gazette* against the infernal din of the tom-tom everywhere, and the foul and obscene language allowed everywhere at the *hula* festival, which the district officers could everywhere put down not only to the comfort of the European and respectable classes of natives, but to the great good of the lower classes themselves; and to the Indian origin of Polo, on which we are qualified to speak, having witnessed the very earliest beginnings of the game in Eastern Bengal (before it appeared even in Calcutta) in the fifties. General R. C. Stewart writes in the *Field* :—

"Adverting to the remarks in the polo column in your issue of the 11th instant, relative to the origin of polo in India, perhaps the following reminiscences may be of interest in throwing some light on the subject. In December 1864 I was an A.D.-C. at Government House, Calcutta, and played the game twice a week on the *maidaan*, near the Bengal Club. There were the two Polo Clubs, one composed of residents in Calcutta, who rode Manipuri ponies only (which were imported for the purpose), and another composed of Military Officers, men on the Staff, etc., who rode country-bred ponies or

anything they could pick up. The Manipuri ponies were so much smaller than the country-breds, that it was not possible to make a game with the two classes, as the former were out-placed; but the Manipuri ponies were much the best at the game, and seemed to take to it by instinct. The game had then not long been started in Calcutta, and my recollection is that it had been introduced two or three years previously by an officer attached to the Residency at Manipur, who had brought down a team of Manipuris with their ponies, and had introduced the game into Calcutta. I recollect hearing wonderful stories of the horsemanship of the Manipuris. They played with a very short stick, and in the game a man who could pick up the ball off the ground without dismounting could ride off with it into goal. Polo was a very rough and tumble game as we played it in those days. There were but few players, and no limit to the number aside. The game was played twice a week. On some days from three to six players would turn up. On others a dozen or more would appear, all of whom wished to play. There were few rules. Everyone played for himself and to keep as near the ball as possible. Mares and entires were ridden indiscriminately and occasionally in a scrimmage there was a deal of screaming and kicking. Jostling and hooking of sticks in any way was allowed and there were no umpires. I do not think the game was played in any other part of India at that time (1863), but it soon took root in the north. I myself, after leaving Calcutta, went to Madras, where we tried to introduce it without success. In 1871 or 1872 Mr. Ross Mangles, of the Bengal Civil Service, introduced it at Bangalore, when it was taken up freely by the British Cavalry Regiment lately arrived from England. I think it may be taken as a fact that polo was introduced into India by the Manipuris in about 1860 to 1862. It was not called polo then, but hockey on horseback."

Manipur is the real home of the game. In the *Gazetteer of Manipur* published by the Intelligence Branch of the Quarter-Master General's Department in 1884, we read that the outdoor games of the Manipuris are few; indeed, the only one, it may be said, which has any popularity, is hockey on horseback, a game formerly peculiar to Manipur, but which of late years has spread over and become popular throughout a large portion of British India. This is the game named Polo, which is so fashionable now. The traditions of Manipur have it that the game of hockey was first introduced by a Raja named Pakungba, who flourished 500 years ago. According to some the introduction is given as late as the reign of Gharib Newaz, about 120 years ago. The game, it is said, has not altered since that time, and as it is now so generally understood, a brief description of it will suffice. In the more important games as played in Manipur, seven men on either side is considered a correct number, but in ordinary games, any number can play. As might be expected in the place of its birth, the play is much superior to what can be seen elsewhere, it is much faster and the hits are delivered with greater precision. The games are always started from the centre of the ground by the ball being thrown into the middle for the players; it is frequently struck before reaching the ground. The pace is kept fast from the commencement of the game, and such a thing as a player being allowed to spoon a ball along before delivering his stroke is unknown: an attempt at

this kind of play would result in the ball being at once taken away by a stroke from one of the opposite party. When an evening's play has commenced, the games succeed each other quickly. So soon as the ball is driven to goal, the players hurry back to the centre of the ground, and a fresh game is begun. When a ball is sent off the ground to either side, it is flung, as at starting, among the players opposite the point of exit. The Manipur riding costume for the game is a scanty *dhoti*, well tucked up, and a pair of thick woollen gaiters reaching from the ankle to the knee, a whip is carried in the left hand suspended from the wrist, to allow free motion of the hand. The saddle is furnished with curved flaps of enamelled leather, suspended from the sides opposite the stirrups and stirrup leathers. The ball used is made of bamboo root, and is large and light. The clubs have handles of well-seasoned cane, the angular striking part is of heavy wood. As might be expected, a good hockey pony is a valuable animal and is parted with reluctantly. All classes, from the Raja, who is a good player, down, play the game, and an unusually good player is sure of royal favour. Hockey on foot is played by the juveniles.

LATEST.—With reference to our recommendation to amnesty every one without distinction, we note that Earl Spencer, who succeeds Lord Kimberley as the representative of the opposition in the House of Lords, has also urged the same, as well as the early abolition of martial law, to be speedily followed by grants of self-Government. It is stated, though with what authority we cannot say, that the Secretary of State has vetoed the proposal to move the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government from Simla to Murree, on the ground of the great and unnecessary expenditure that it would entail. If so, he has shown great good sense, and a due regard for the interests of India. The great Frontier Mullah, who had evidently been decoyed to Cabul by the Ameer, to let Lord Curzon have a quiet time of it for the Peshawar Durbar, has returned to his headquarters. No doubt he is now having his day about the Durbar speech. We have already expressed our opinion that no mere Durbar speech, however valuable as an exponent of policy, will have any permanent effect on these wild and fanatical tribes. And now, having seen the speech, we may also state the view we take of it. First, it was most excellent. Second, there was too much of argument and reasoning about it. Third, there was nothing to soothe their vanity or attract their friendship—the stroking of the fur of the wild cat. Fourth, the whole thing should have been wound up by a grand *dejeuner a la Cabool*, of fat *dombas*, *pillau*, *keeshmeesh*, *peshta*, *badam*,

etc. This last omission was inexcusable. Our good Viceroy has yet to learn that the animal man has to be approached and won over by his *stomach* (and not by his head). This omission we reckon unpardonable, and it might have been connected with the Coronation of the King-Emperor. Let Lord Curzon, however, take the hint and act on it during the coming Coronation ceremonies. A few thousand rupees spent on a grand feast is better than spending several *lakhs* on an "expedition to punish." We may also observe before we leave this subject that the very first sentence of the Viceroy had a strong smack of Kipling. "Men of the Frontier, I have come to meet you on the Frontier." We will not proceed further with the speech which may be produced *in extenso* in *Punch* with annotations by a good artist—such a one as Mr. Bradbury Evans* was lately in search of. (We trust this hint will *not* be acted on, and a translation of it sown broadcast among the tribes for their delectation and the great Mullah's wonder.) We suspect Lord Curzon* has a fund of humour of which he is supremely unconscious. To pass on, a Commission to examine the question of the Police is promised. We would recommend (1) more clever natives in the higher ranks; (2) fewer failures—scions of past prominent Indians—whose inability is condoned by their connection; (3) *not* "more pay;" (4) promotion from the lower ranks for proved efficiency; (5) less "reporting" and "form" work, for which the "Moonshi" should suffice and be responsible. A tremendous tornado has passed over Dacca and Naraingunj, with great loss of life. That is the peculiar region of tornadoes in Bengal, and their connection with the head of the great volcanic circle of the Indian Archipelago, as well as seismic disturbances, and the booming of "the guns of Burrisal" may easily be shown. In this region great and ancient cities have been overthrown, or entirely buried, or covered by the Megna. Calcutta lies just midway between the track of the severe Vizagapatam cyclones which sweep up the Bay, and these seismic and tornado regions, and hence escapes, though it may not always do so. During the late Naraingunj tornado one who was in it stated he felt the blast as from a red-hot furnace. The following extract from the *Mahratta*—the Mahrattas are the finest, free-spoken race in India—refers to the 'Panna Trial, and confirms the views we have taken of it:—

"Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, has pronounced the final doom of life-long imprisonment on the unfortunate and misguided Rajah of Panna. After a careful consideration of the report of the Commission and the petition of appeal submitted on behalf of the Maharajah, Lord Curzon has come to the conclusion that Rajah Madhav Singh had every motive to remove Rao Raja from his path, and that he is guilty of instigating

the cook Sambhu to poison his uncle. The sentence of death passed by the Commission on the Private Secretary of the Maharajah is also confirmed by the Viceroy. A proclamation published in a *Gazette Extraordinary* proclaims the deposition of the Rajah from his ancestral Gadi. If the Maharajah is in any way connected with the horrible murder of his uncle and trusted Minister, we have no hesitation in saying that he fully deserves the punishment meted out to him. But there were so many irregularities and inconsistencies in the procedure adopted in his trial that all fair-minded and impartial persons will be disposed to think that the Maharajah did not get a fair trial. The most hardened criminal, most wicked assassins, many a Tanya Bhil and Kamoshi, has a Judge and a Jury to try them; they can appeal to the High Courts, the Viceroy, and even their Sovereign. But unfortunate Madhav Singh, a ruler of a State of 2,568 square miles and a population of a quarter of a million, is tried by a Commission of two European Government nominees without the help of a Jury. So an Indian Prince is denied those rights that the humblest British subject enjoys at present. An Indian Prince is regarded neither as a British subject, nor as an independent chief. A member of the English aristocracy is usually tried by the House of Lords. Why should not an Indian Prince also be tried by his own Peers? If Lord Curzon had appointed a Commission of three or four native Princes or nobles, their decision would have been received by the public with satisfaction. The procedure followed in this case was inconsistent with the British sense of justice and fair play, as well as with the dignity and position of our Indian Princes."

Finally, in regard to Mr. Cotton, he (and his "friends") would have shown better sense, had he left in peace without meetings and interminable exculpatory and self-laudatory speeches. These would make out that either the Viceroy was right and he was wrong, or that he was right and the Viceroy wrong, and we regret for Mr. Cotton's sake to have to say that judging from the evidence furnished by these speeches themselves, the Viceroy was right. No Supreme Ruler of the Indian Empire can stand such a lot of undue attention being forcibly claimed—and purely for self, from any subordinate even higher placed than Mr. Cotton. And the attempt made by the Durbhunga "Chairman" to *force* the Viceroy's hand in the matter of appointing Mr. Cotton to Bengal (Durbhunga is his dear and particular own friend) was most monstrous. Lord Curzon is one of the strongest rulers India has known, and will not be forced or dictated to; besides that he knows what he is doing. In reference to this we find *Capital* writing of the true ornaments of the service:—"They never advertise themselves, never whine because they are not made Lieutenant-Governors; are never dragged by their admirers before the public to be bespattered with praise, but retire gracefully and quietly when their time comes, wishing for nothing better after their final promotion, than the modest epitaph such as can be seen in the Lucknow Cemetery. 'Here lies one who tried to do his duty.' These men are the salt of the Service."

One more item here:—Owing to Mr. Philip Nolan's regrettable decease, we see it stated that Mr. Bourdillon goes into the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Buckland has been telegraphed for from home.

Many interesting matters lie over, including the Great Martinique eruption and the news of the Peace in South Africa, about which we learn as we go to press.


In our obituary list we have to note the decease of General Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E. ; General Olpherts, an old Lucknow hero ; Lord Kimberley, the Liberal leader in the House of Lords ; Mr. Rhodes of the De Beer's South African Diamond Mines ; and Bishop Gell, late of Madras. Also Mr. Philip Nolan, of the Board of Revenue, Bengal ; Mr. John Beams, a distinguished Oriental scholar ; and Sir Arthur Arnould, with whom we were once associated in journalism in London.

General Sir Andrew Clarke was a most distinguished officer, at one time Governor of Victoria ; and again Governor of the Straits Settlements, where he consolidated our rule—a worthy successor of Sir Stamford Raffles. Sir Andrew was also at one time Minister of Works in India. He had a most vigorous intellect down to the last, and he died over ninety, holding at the time the appointment of Agent-General of Victoria. Few men have possessed a greater stock of sound common sense. At one time we believe he was also Inspector-General of Fortifications. Lord Kimberley was equally respected on both sides of the House. Mr. Nolan was very much liked for his quiet gentleness, and the Lieutenant-Governor has paid him a high tribute in the *Gazette*. Of Mr. Rhodes every one has heard. We have been on the farm near Richmond (Natal) where he began his early life as an assistant growing cotton—in which worthy object unfortunately for himself he failed, betaking himself to Kimberley. With him the end justified the means ; and he died without accomplishing any of his projects. The way he robbed Lobengula of Zambesia was infamous. So, too, his own account of how and why he brought on the Jameson Raid, which resulted in this sad war and England paying two hundred millions. Here is his own account :—

“ There were three reasons. In the first place I found that old Kruger was an insuperable objection to the union of South Africa, even for commercial purposes and for the development of the country. I tried him in every way I could on what you may call Afrikander principles, but it was no use, and so long as he ruled the Transvaal the brake was on all progress in South Africa. The second reason was that there was an English-speaking minority opposed to Kruger, but at least as much opposed to seeing South Africa under the British flag. That was then but a small minority, but it was a growing one. And, if left to develop, it would have become a majority when the hour came to get rid of Kruger. That would have balked the policy for which I have struggled all my life, to make South Africa an integral part of the British Empire. And the third reason was that you cannot make revolutions in these days without money, and I had at my command at that time a combination of millionaires ready to support me whom I might never be able to get together again. ‘ Such,’ he said, ‘ was my position in a nutshell ’ ”

We corresponded with him long before the "war," warning him that a "catastrophe" was coming and asking him to stop it, but he did nothing. He has left a "will" devising his millions for educational purposes, but Germans and Americans don't recognise Oxford!

Bishop Gell was a saintly character, but very different from the Apostle Paul who went "through' good report and *evil* report," and who "in all things gave offence to some." But every one has his use. We should also include here Sir Richard Temple, one of our (*Calcutta Review*) Editors. We knew him personally. He had neither of the saving graces of spirituality or humour.

 Special Articles for our next number :—

The Coronation in the Abbey, by eye-witness in an Earl's group.

The Kama Mystery, a study in Comparative Dramatics, by C. S.

Æniad, Book VI, a new translation, by C. S.

Sugar in India.

The Saktas, by Rev. Dr. Macdonald, D.D.

A Peasantry of Paupers, by C. S.

Some Authors I have known.

Philomel, by M. R. Weld, C.S.

Famines in India, by an Ex-Deacon and others.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra (Archæological Survey of India Series). By Edmund W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, N.-W. P. and Oudh. Part I. Allahabad Government Press. Rs. 22, or £1 13s.

THIS is another of the magnificent volumes showing Indian Art of the past, which are now being issued. There are 103 exquisite plates, mostly in colours, with letter-press, depicting (1) Chini ka Rauza, (2) Itimad ud Daulah's Tomb, (3) Akbar's Great Tomb at Sikandra, (4) Kanch Mahal, (5) Suraj Bhan ka Bagh. There is a considerable Art use in these volumes, and we congratulate Mr. Edmund Smith on his work on this volume.

Michael Ferrier. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

A powerfully written story, but not ending very well.

Report of the Bareilly Theological College for 1901. Methodist Publishing House, Lucknow.

THE Methodist Missions in India we regard in the light of a healthful spiritual wind playing over the inert dead bones of Indian metaphysical, and therefore merely intellectual, speculations, reviving the masses to a new life of hope and joy. Also, as compared with other more formal Christian sects, of urging these on to more earnest and practical Christianity for popular and general acceptance. Whether owing to American energy, or a superior organisation, or a less "grievous yoke," Methodist Missions seem to take well in India, and their congregations now number by the ten thousand, where, to our knowledge, there was not a single convert or Mission. The great local (Indian) "feeder" of this extended and successful work is this "Theological College" at Bareilly, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Scott. As the Report says:—

"The chief demand at present in the region represented by this Seminary is for ministers suited to the large towns and villages where our work has spread, who can shepherd the many Christians gathered in, and push evangelism among the rural population. Men are needed who can mingle freely with our large number of uneducated Christians found in these villages, and also understand how to deal with the ordinary rude non-Christian population. We are seeking to train men for such a work, while ready to meet a demand for broader training as it may arise."

How converts of a higher class are brought in may be seen from the following :—

"Swami Brihmanand Sastri was a student of Sanskrit in Benares for nearly twenty years. He claims to have read carefully the four Veds, the Upanishads, and the six Shastras, with numerous other Sanskrit books. He was associated with the Sunyasis of one of the principal temples in Benares. Meantime he had fallen in with the Satmat Nirupan, the Dharmitula, and other Christian controversial books. He had also met some of the missionaries in Benares, and his mind was favorably impressed with the truth he had read and heard. More than a year ago, he left Benares and the temple association, for an independent course of life, and took up his residence at a temple in Sitapur, Oudh. Here he sought the missionary and native pastor, and became an avowed seeker of the truth of Christianity. On July 29th he was baptized and was sent immediately to the Seminary. We had been in search of an available teacher of Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy for years, and here was the man. The Swami is thirty-six years age, is of pleasing, frank address, and seems to be a profound scholar in Sanskrit. He is now learning this "new way" more perfectly, while teaching in the Seminary. He promises to be a most useful convert, as he can bring rare acquirements and ability into Christian work.

"Chhedil Lal is a Brahmin; who passed the Middle Anglo-Vernacular course, and having studied for it, was employed as a compounder in the Government dispensary at Banda. Here some nine years ago, he became a seeker after Christ under the native pastor, Rev. Ratan Singh, one of our Seminary graduates. He was on the point of going to Allahabad to be baptized with his family, but was restrained by the efforts of his father and other Hindus, who captured them while seated in the train with their tickets. But the purpose of his heart was fixed, and thus years after, while employed as a compounder in Bareilly, he came to us as an enquirer seeking baptism. His desire was accomplished, and he was baptized with his wife and two children in the Mission Church, November 3rd. We had been on the look out for just such a Christian man to take charge of the Seminary dispensary where he is now cheerfully at work, and is a most helpful addition to our staff."

In short, the College is doing most excellent work, and as we note that it stands in need of \$50,000, of which \$8,000 have already been made up, we trust some wealthy American will come forward to supply the need—to him a "flea-bite," but help and new life to millions.

Grammatik der Sanscrit-Sprache. A. Hartlebeu's Verlag
Wien, Pest, Leipzig. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.)

THIS is a small, but exceedingly well-arranged and got up, Practical Grammar of the most perfect language devised

by the wit of man.' The examples for the paradigms are well-selected, and the notes appropriate and not too extensive and oppressive. There are also select lessons and exercises from the *Betalpunchabinsati*, and the *Ramayan*, with valuable and copious glossaries in German and Sanscrit. It is also a cheap book. For it to be extensively useful, translations of it should be made into English, Bengali, and Hindi, though we think the *Elementary Sanscrit Grammar* of Pundit Ishur Chunder Vidyasagar in Bengali cannot be beaten.

Burma. By Max and Bertha Ferrar's. Second Edition. London, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Limited; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1901. Price, 30s.

THIS is an *Album de Luxe*, printed on exquisite paper with over 450 photographic reproductions—showing the *ery* beauty and Art of a country now tagged on to India but which, from the earliest ages, had its own independent and complete existence. The volume is suitable not only for any drawing room table, but for any library. That it is going through a Second Edition is a proof of its popularity and value. In fact the illustrations, complete as regards the country and scenery, and the whole life of the people, and as art-studies, themselves are worth double the value fixed by the publishers. We may see from this work that even Japan, so be praised by travellers, must take a secondary place as compared with Burman Scenery and Art, and the credit of it lies equally between the gifted authors and the publishers.

Let us, however, be more detailed. The life of the Burman is portrayed from the cradle to the grave. A series of 455 *consecutive* photographs illustrates the characteristic situations in the life of the leading race, the aboriginal or hill races, the effects of scenery, the animals, and the vegetation. The portrayal of no people has yet been carried out with this degree of fulness and of beauty. Burma presents contrasts to India, China, and Japan, as great as these do to one another. But just as Japan is becoming Europeanised and losing her outward individuality, so is Burma also, and so is the Tyrol, and every country whose charm lay in a distinctive aspect. In less than a generation the indigenous character of Burma will have passed. Even now, the medley is such that only an observer trained to the habits and ideas of old Burma can separate the pristine features. By help of such an experience, and by studying each subject until a characteristic picture resulted, has it been possible to record the features of Burma in their original type? During the course of four years several thousands of special photographs were taken for this purpose. The arrangement of the work is seen

from the subjoined Summary of Illustrations. The text occupies 200 quarto pages, while there are 48 full-page and 407 text illustrations.

The following is a Summary of the Illustrations:—

Approach to Burma; Child Life; Adolescence.—Universal Monastic Novitiate; Monastic Life; Buddhist Institutions.—Ancient Ecclesiastical Remains; Temple Surroundings. Interior Religious Orders; Lay Worshipers; Return to Secular Life. Adult Life.—General Occupations.—Agricultural; Domestic; Courtship and Marriage. Tatooing. Village and Country Scenes.—General; Seasonal. Special Avocations.—Cultivation, forms of; Fishery; Salting and Curing, The Chase. Artisans.—Clay, Pottery; Brick; Stone; Lacquer, Cordage. Leather. Metals; Timber. Painting and Design; Inscriptions and writings. Dealers. Transport.—Boats and Boat-builders, Carts and Cart-builders. Travel. Alien Races.—Indigenous; Long settled; Recent. Police.—Defence; Village Government.—Provincial Government, Central Government; Regents and Princes. Entertainments; Pilgrimages; The Aged. Mourning.—Fugitive Offences.—Tombs; *Palis*; Miscellaneous.

The work presents thus a complete view of Burma and its life, and the authors should really be recognised and rewarded by Government for it.

Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors. Being a narrative of the principal events and public measures during their periods of office, from 1854 to 1898. By C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service. In Two Volumes, with 14 Illustrations. Calcutta, S. K. Lahiri & Co. 1901.

ONCE in a decade or so the stillness of the book-publishing world in India is broken, and a work is presented to us that at once commands attention and takes its place to live. Of such is *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, by Mr. Buckland, the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government. As providing a knowledge of the past to a generation ignorant of it; as fixing up an important chapter of the History of British India; as supplying a felt want, we welcome the work, and place it before us for constant use and reference. No one in Bengal, at least, be he ruler and administrator; civil servant, planter, or merchant; subordinate official, teacher, or student, can afford to be without it, or to neglect a study of it. Just as it has been said no one can know British rule in India without the *Calcutta Review*.—quoted largely in the work before us,—so it may be said of this *magnum opus*, no one can know India, and least of all, Bengal without it. It is perfectly true what has been said of it by 'another reviewer'—"there is no other book, of the kind." And no one could have been better qualified to produce it than Mr. Buckland. Coming from a well-known literary family at home, his position as Chief Secretary to the Government placed at his command all the records requisite for his work,

While saying this much, and recording that the conception of producing such a book was true, the diligence great, the labour enormous, the grasp firm; the merely trained author is less visible in it than the Indian administrator. History though it be in a general sense of the word, it is more an official compilation of the administration with important papers on subjects of great public interest. This is a point of view which may be of more credit to Mr. Buckland as a practical administrator than if he had produced a mere perfect literary volume—a second “Annals of Bengal,” highly finished and coloured, and mostly imaginary and sentimental. There is here no trace of mere sentiment and imagination, and a skilful mingling together of both. Nor, we may add, any of that striking out into theoretical party side-issues which in India sometimes proves the bane of otherwise able officials.

Mr. Buckland acknowledges his sources—other than official papers—from, as stated above, our own pages, Sir John William Kaye and General Malleson—both our Editors—and others. The likenesses of the Lieutenant-Governors are excellent. In a future Edition, which we trust will soon be called for, let us hope to see also Sir John Woodburn’s happy and cheerful face gracing the end. Sir John Woodburn’s administration, so successful, may come in afterwards, though it is obvious Mr. Buckland should not write it however best fitted he may be for a task which would doubtless be to him a labour of love. The brief accounts which are furnished near the end of some eminent natives are valuable, as is also the list of Judges of the High Court. We may conclude by saying, that Mr. Buckland has scored deeply among Chief Secretaries by this work; that other Governments in India may well follow the example set herein and even officially produce similar accounts for themselves; and that a small compilation as a History for Bengal Schools and Colleges should be undertaken by some competent hand with Mr. Buckland’s consent.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Punjab Excise Administration Report.
 Punjab Registration Department Report
 Punjab Income Tax Report.
 Punjab Land Records and Agricultural Report.
 Punjab Land Revenue Administration Report.
 N.-W. P. and Oudh Forest Administration Report.
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 Note on the Rabi Crops of Bengal.
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 Bulletins, Nos. 12 to 18. N.-W. P. and Oudh Department of Land
 Records and Agriculture. By Messrs. E. A. Molony, C.S.,
 W. H. Moreland, C.S., and P. V. Subbiah, Principal, Cawnpore
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 The (English) Indian Magazine.
 The Arya.
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 Rajarshi-Kumar (in Bengali).
 General Geography for Indian Schools, with maps. By W. H. Arden
 Wood, M.A. Macmillans. Rs. 2-8.
 Western India Archaeological Survey Progress Report.
 Seventeenth Indian National Congress President's Report.
 Bombay Provincial Conference Report.
 Report of Commissioners of Education, U. S. A. Vol. ii.
 The Dynamics of Mind, by R. Banerji, M.A. (Held over for review.)
 Poppy Cultivation in India, by Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., and others
 Report on Wards' Estates in the Punjab.
 Administration Report. N. W. P. and Oudh.
 (The Tables could have been much abbreviated.)
 Third Annual Report of the Benares Hindu College (will be noticed
 in our next).

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